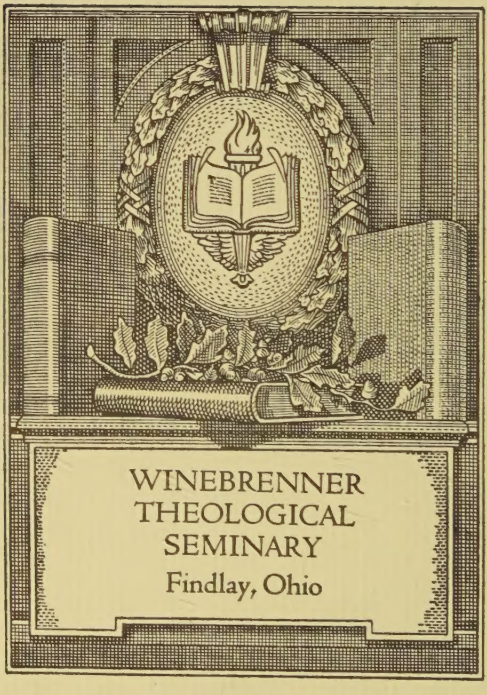
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LIFE

OF

JOHN ELIOT,

THE

APOSTLE TO THE INDIANS

By CONVERS FRANCIS

NEW YORK:
GARRETT PRESS, INC.
1969

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VOL. V.

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PREFACE.

In preparing the following account of the Apostle Eliot, it has been my object to confine the narrative as strictly as possible within the limits of his personal biography, and of the circumstances necessarily connected with it. The story obviously furnishes many points, at which a writer would desire to avail himself of the opportunities presented for discussion and general remarks. Among these topics, the condition and fate of the American Indians, and the character of missionary enterprises among them since Eliot's time, would open a large field for inquiry and reflection, in connexion with the history of a man, who labored so strenuously for that interesting race. It would likewise be desirable to take a somewhat ample notice of Mr. Eliot's fellow-laborers in the same benevolent work. But my limits have necessarily

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precluded these and similar digressions. The object of a work like the present is to give a distinct and faithful picture of the life, doings, opinions, and habits of the individual; and the reader must be left to derive from the account such materials for speculation as may be suggested to his own mind.

Of the sources, from which I have drawn the facts for this biographical sketch, some are obvious, and have been before used; to others access has hitherto been had either not at all, or only at second hand. The "Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society," which are full of useful materials for the student of American history, have afforded important aid. These volumes, besides the account of the apostle Eliot prepared by his highly respected namesake, the Reverend Dr. John Eliot of Boston, contain scattered facts and documents connected with the subject of this work. I have consulted the Colony Records, and in a few instances they have furnished me with facts, which I was glad to obtain.

I have been reluctantly compelled, by want of room, to omit many of the most interesting questions proposed by the Indian converts to their teacher, and some details of Mr. Eliot's proceedings. But I hope the book will be found to present a fair representation of his deeds and character, and to constitute a memorial not altogether unworthy of one belonging to the venerable class of "the righteous who shall be in everlasting remembrance." The record of the wise and good will never be forgotten by a community, who understand what they owe to themselves; and it may be refreshing briefly to withdraw from the heating excitements, which daily crowd upon the public mind, to the contemplation of a man, whose long life was a life of moral labor, whose active spirit was a spirit of self-sacrifice and of pure benevolence.

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this act of ominous justice hath, & will
strike more terror into ye, yn ten disarmings, though
in due season, if it ye end not way too. But I shall give
you no further trouble at present, but committing you to the
Lord, & to the word of his grace, I remain

Roxb: this 16th of
the 4th. 71.

your worships to serve you
in ye Lord Jesus
John Eliot

Daniell Gookin.

Daniell Takawompbait

Thomas Shepard.

LIFE

OF

JOHN ELIOT,

THE

APOSTLE TO THE INDIANS

BY

CONVERS FRANCIS

JOHN ELIOT.

CHAPTER I.

Eliot's Birth. — Education. — Connexion with Mr. Hooker. — Arrival and Ministry in Boston. — Marriage. — Settlement at Roxbury.

The distinguished man, whose life constitutes the subject of the following narrative, is familiarly known in New England history as the Apostle to the Indians, a title as richly deserved, as it is significant and honorable. John Eliot was born at Nasing,* Essex County, England, in 1604, and, as Prince supposes,† in November of that year. At this distance of time, little information can be had concerning that

* I state this on the authority of Mr. Moore (*Memoirs of Eliot*), and of President Allen (*Biographical Dictionary*, second edition), who, however, both make a slight mistake of orthography in calling the place *Nasin*. The older writers do not give the birth-place of Eliot. Cotton Mather, who was his contemporary, says, "It was a town in England, the name whereof I cannot presently recover." Nasing is in Essex, near Waltham, and between Epping and Harlow.

† Annals, Part II. Sec. 2.

part of his life, which was passed in his native country. All that we know of it is scanty in amount, and of a general character. We learn that Mr. Eliot's parents were persons of remarkable piety, and that they sought, with conscientious solicitude, to give the feelings of their son a spiritual direction, and a devout cast, even in the earliest days of childhood. In his own expressive language, his "first years were *seasoned* with the fear of God, the word, and prayer." Their pious care was not lost. It laid the foundation of a character well fitted for extraordinary tasks in the service of God. They cast good seed on the young mind; but they knew not, that, across the ocean in the far distant wilderness, it was destined to produce fruit for the nourishment of spiritual life in the church, and in the cabins of the benighted children of the forest.

Mr. Eliot was educated at one of the English Universities, probably at Cambridge, though we know not at which of the numerous halls in that seat of learning. To his character as a scholar, during this forming period of life, there is merely a general, but an honorable testimony. He acquired a sound, thorough, and discriminating knowledge of the original languages of the Scriptures, became well versed in the general course of liberal studies, and was particularly skilful in theological learning. It is

recorded that he had a partiality for philological inquiries, and was an acute grammarian; a turn of mind which, we may suppose, afterwards had its influence in stimulating and directing the labor his pious zeal prompted him to bestow on the language of the Indians.

On leaving the University he engaged in the business of instruction. Mr. Hooker, who at a subsequent period became one of the most eminent among the worthies of New England, having been silenced in the work of preaching on account of his nonconformity, had established a grammar school at Little Baddow, near Chelmsford in Essex. In this school Mr. Eliot was employed as an usher. It is recorded, that he discharged the unostentatious, but important, duties of this station with faithful and successful industry. Cotton Mather, with an amusing zeal, takes pains to prove that he was not disgraced by the employment. This reminds us of the folly of those writers, who drew upon themselves the caustic remarks of Johnson for endeavouring to vindicate Milton from the degradation of having been a schoolmaster. There are many facts, which show that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the office of a teacher of youth was far from being treated with that respect in England, which belongs to the weighty task of building up minds for the service of the state and of the world.

Eliot was by his situation brought into that familiar acquaintance with Mr. Hooker, which exerted the happiest influence on the advancing formation of his character and principles. From that devoted and able man he received deep religious impressions, which were never effaced, and which reinforced with strong power all the good effects of his pious education. He always spoke of his residence at Little Baddow as a rich blessing to his soul. In the loneliness of retirement, and in the quiet sanctity of Hooker's household, his spiritual life was kindled into that expansive energy, which led him with unalterable purpose to the service of God. "When I came to this blessed family," said he, "I then saw, and never before, the power of godliness in its lively vigor and efficacy." Hooker must have experienced the happiness, which a good man feels, when he has been the instrument of bringing a gifted mind and a sanctified heart to work for the cause of truth and righteousness.*

To the Christian ministry Eliot now resolved to devote himself. But for the Puritan or Nonconformist preacher there was at that time no open field in England. He was fortunate if he

* Cotton Mather was in possession of a manuscript written by Mr. Eliot, in which he gave an account of the school and of his residence at Little Baddow. See *Magnalia*, Book III. *Life of Hooker.*

escaped imprisonment, and at best could but exercise his office in a half-suppressed, clandestine manner, while he was continually startled by the sound of pursuit, and liable at any moment to be taken in the toils laid for him by arbitrary power.* It is not necessary here to enter into the detail of those measures, which were pressed with pertinacious folly, till in the stormy reaction the throne and the church went to the ground, and the fierce struggle of a civil war became the price, at which some advance was gained in a cause, that has ever since, from time to time, been in a course of onward movement. When Mr. Eliot saw that his friend and instructer, Hooker, notwithstanding the interposition of forty-seven conforming clergymen on his behalf, could escape from the searching tyranny of Laud only by fleeing to Holland, he must have been convinced that neither safety nor usefulness was any longer to be expected in his native country. In these circumstances, he turned his thoughts to the new western world. There a refuge had already been found by many, of whom England had rendered herself unworthy; and there he resolved to take

* In Eliot's case, it would seem, the persecution extended further than to the exercise of the ministry, if we may believe Neal, who says that he was "not allowed to teach school in his native country." — *History of the Puritans*, Vol. II. p. 245.

his lot among those, who were driven forth by their countrymen to do a great work for human rights and for God's cause in the wilderness.

With a mind thus well matured, and a character thus prepared for the important duties that awaited him, Mr. Eliot bade farewell to the home of his fathers, and sought the shores of America. On the 3d of November, 1631, the ship Lyon, in which he took passage, came to anchor in Boston harbour, bringing a company of about sixty persons. Among them were the wife and children of Governor Winthrop. Their arrival was welcomed with peculiar demonstrations of joy, and every thing, which kindness could suggest, was done to give them a pleasant reception.*

Mr. Eliot was now twenty-seven years of age, in the full vigor of youthful health and strength. No sooner had he landed, than he found a field of usefulness, and was called to the work on which his heart was set. Mr. Wilson, pastor of the First Church in Boston, had gone to England, for the settlement of his affairs, in the latter part of the preceding March. In his absence, the religious services had been superintended and conducted by Governor Winthrop, Mr. Dudley, and Mr. Nowell, the elder. Wilson, at a solemn meeting before his departure, had designated these in-

* SAVAGE'S *Winthrop*, Vol. I. pp. 63 - 66.

dividuals as best fitted for "the exercise of prophecy," as it was termed, that is, for the office of public religious instruction. The duty was doubtless well and wisely discharged by these distinguished laymen; and the church must be deemed a favored one, which, in the absence of its pastor, could thus furnish from its own number gifted and pious men to sustain the public offices of the Sabbath. But it was natural, that they should avail themselves of the first opportunity to procure the services of a well-qualified minister. Such an opportunity occurred when Mr. Eliot arrived. He immediately joined the Boston church, and officiated as their preacher until his removal to Roxbury. He performed the duties of this station with distinguished ability and usefulness; and the church welcomed him as a faithful helper of their joy.

In the following February, Mr. Eliot is mentioned as one of those, who accompanied the Governor on that excursion, in which they dis covered and named Spot Pond.

When Eliot left England, more tender affections than those of national feeling still lingered there. His heart and hand were pledged to a young lady, whose name is not transmitted to us, but who seems to have been in every respect worthy of such a man. She followed him to New England, and their marriage took place

in October, 1632. Their union was very long and very happy. She is said to have been a woman of much active benevolence and of exemplary piety, prompt to share with her husband the works of charity, and affording him that aid, on which a mind tasked and wearied with arduous duties might lean with full and refreshing confidence.

So entirely faithful and acceptable were the clerical labors of Mr. Eliot, that the Boston church expressed a strong wish to retain him permanently in their service. They would gladly have settled him, as teacher, in connexion with their pastor, Wilson, when he returned from England. They seem, from Winthrop's account,* to have set their hearts much on accomplishing this union. When we recollect the character of the leading men in that church, this urgency on their part speaks well for the gifts and graces, which could so soon excite an interest so deep and strong. But, in consequence of a prior engagement, their cherished purpose failed of success. When Eliot left his native land, a considerable number of his Christian brethren, who loved him and sympathized in his views, had thought of following him to America. He had promised them, that, if they should carry that plan into effect, and should arrive in New England before he had

* Vol. I. p. 93.

formed a regular pastoral connexion with any other church, he would be their minister and devote himself to their service. The next year they came hither, and settled at Roxbury. The pledge he had given was now to be redeemed The Boston church strove earnestly to retain him, but in vain. Both he and the new congregation preferred to abide by their engagement. Accordingly, on the 5th of November, 1632, he was established as teacher of the church in Roxbury, and continued in that office till his death. The following year he received a colleague, Mr. Welde, with whom his connexion was uniformly harmonious and happy. In 1641 Mr. Welde went to England, as agent for the province, and never returned. At subsequent periods, Mr. Danforth and Mr. Walter were colleagues with the Roxbury teacher.

Mr. Eliot now found himself placed in a relation, for which his education, his habits of thought, and the spirituality of his character were adapted to give him a strong affection. He loved the labors of the ministry, and engaged in them with his whole soul. His situation had much that was attractive, amidst the hardships and trials of a new settlement. He was among friends, who had known him long enough to give him their hearts without reserve. He was not now for the first time to win their confidence. They met in the new world as

those, who had been drawn to each other by kindred feelings amidst the trials of their native land. From what has already been stated of his history, it may seem almost superfluous to say that his important duties were discharged with exemplary zeal, ability, and faithfulness. Even at that time, when ecclesiastical labors were the first and highest in the infant colony, and when the clergy by their office were leading men in the community, scarcely a name can be mentioned, which stood before that of Mr. Eliot. Of his ministry in Roxbury there is not much to be told, that can be presented in an historical form; for the life of a clergyman, as such, though full of toil, is not full of events. We know, that from first to last he was a hard student and a hard worker; breaking the bread of life with affectionate fidelity, and administering divine truth with uncompromising sincerity; fearless in rebuke and kind in counsel; meeting every claim of duty with unwearied patience, and bringing his wisdom to bear on the most common things; proverbially charitable, and ready to be spent in every good work.*

* "How strong," says Carne, "must have been his emotion, when the aged Hooker toiled up the hill to listen to the words of the man, whose soul he had first guided; it was one of the most touching scenes of Eliot's life, when the former, well stricken in years, came to America, to lay his bones there, and found his once young and valued

Another part of this narrative may afford an opportunity of recurring to this subject. At present I will only remark, that the abilities and graces manifested in his professional duties naturally remind us of those delineations of clerical excellence, in which simplicity of heart, sanctified learning, and watchful fidelity are beautifully blended ;

> "Such priest as Chaucer sang in fervent lays,
> Such as the heaven-taught skill of Herbert drew.

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friend thus surrounded with comfort and respect."—*Lives of Eminent Missionaries*, Vol. I. p. 9. This is one of the pleasant fancies, of which Carne's account is full. It is altogether likely that Hooker, when he came to New England, visited Eliot and heard him preach, though I know not where Carne found any notice of the fact. With respect to the interest the picture derives from the *old age* of Hooker, it should be remembered that he was but forty seven years old when he arrived in Boston, and that three years afterwards he removed to Hartford in Connecticut, and died there in 1647, in his sixty-second year. During the short time in which he had opportunities of hearing his young friend in Roxbury, he could not, except by a poetical license, be called "well stricken in years."

CHAPTER II.

Eliot's Animadversions on the Pequot Treaty. — His Connexion with the Trial of Mrs. Hutchinson. — His Agency in the New England Version of the Psalms.

Not long after Mr. Eliot's settlement at Roxbury, he was brought into some trouble by the honest, though perhaps injudicious, freedom of his remarks on a civil transaction. In October, 1634, a messenger from the sachem of the Pequots waited on Mr. Ludlow, the deputy-governor, for the purpose of soliciting the establishment of friendly relations by treaty between that tribe and the Massachusetts settlers. The Pequots were then at war with the Narragansets and with the Dutch; and their anxiety to secure the friendship, if not the direct aid, of the English, in this perilous crisis of their affairs, was the occasion of the negotiation they had set on foot. The messenger received from the deputy-governor the answer, that his tribe must send more responsible persons, before the governor, Mr. Dudley, would consent to enter upon the consideration of the business.

The next month two of the Pequots appeared in the character of ambassadors, bringing with

them the usual Indian present of wampum.* The deputy-governor accompanied them to Boston, where several of the assistants were in attendance on the weekly lecture. This afforded an opportunity of consulting the clergy, as was frequently done with regard to important transactions of state. The result of the deliberation was, that an offer was made to the Pequots of a treaty on certain conditions, one of which was, that they should surrender those Indians, who had murdered Captain Stone, and other Englishmen, some time before. They agreed to deliver up the two, who, as they alleged, alone survived of the number concerned in that outrage. They also promised to favor the settlement of an English plantation in Connecticut, and to furnish four hundred fathoms of wampum, besides forty beaver and thirty otter skins. On these terms, the government of the

* The best explanation I have seen of this term, so often occurring in Indian history, is in the following note furnished for Drake's reprint of "The Present State of New England with respect to the Indian War," &c., p. 28.

"Wampampeag, commonly called Wampum, was the money made by the Indians, and made a lawful tender by the whites. It was white and black; the white was formed of the Periwinkle, or, in Indian, Meteauhock (*Buccinum lavillus* and *undatum*, Linn.) The black, of the Poquanhock, now called Quahaug or Clam), the *Venus mercenaria* of Linnæus. Much of it, and indeed most of it, was made on Block Island. It was reckoned by fathoms, and parts of a fathom, being worth from 5 to 10 shillings the fathom."

colony consented to establish a treaty of amity and peace with them, but not to engage in an alliance of defence against their enemies.*

On this proceeding Mr. Eliot thought it his duty to animadvert with some freedom in a sermon at Roxbury. This he did in accordance with the spirit of those times, when the ministers, in their concern for the general good, took a large and free share in the discussion of all matters of public interest. He blamed the ministers for advising, and the magistrates for concluding, the treaty with the Pequots in such a manner; nor did he limit his rebukes to that point. The ground of his censures was, that the engagement with the Indians had been made by the governor and assistants on their own authority alone, without the consent of the people; *plebe inconsultâ*, as it was expressed.

The animadversions of the Roxbury teacher gave much offence. It was supposed they might tend to the disparagement of the magistrates, and excite a spirit of complaint unfriendly to good order. The apprehension was natural, considering the high character of the man from whom the rebuke came; and the actual effect was to call forth expressions of disaffection among the people. It was deemed too important a matter to be passed over in silence. The government appointed Mr. Cotton,

* SAVAGE'S *Winthrop*, Vol. I. p. 147.

Mr. Hooker, and Eliot's colleague, Mr. Welde, "to deal with him," as the phrase was, that is, to convince him of his error, and induce him to make such an explanation of his opinion, as would obviate the ill consequences of his censures. These divines discussed the subject with their brother minister. He confessed, that he had taken an incorrect view of the case, and that the form of his opinion was erroneous. He acknowledged, that, since this was a treaty for peace and friendship, and not one the consequence of which would be to involve the colony in a war, he thought the magistrates might act in their official capacity on the occasion without waiting for the consent of the people. This explanation of his views seems to have been satisfactory, and he promised to announce it in his pulpit on the next Sabbath.*

Mr. Eliot's objection to the conduct of the governor and his associates in this instance can scarcely, I suppose, be considered sound or defensible. The powers of the Massachusetts government at that time seem to have been somewhat indefinite. They were, by the necessity of the case, sometimes exercised rather according to present wants and exigencies, than upon settled and guarded principles. It is true, the charter conferred on the governor,

* Ibid. p. 151.

deputy-governor, and assistants no authority to make treaties with any people or tribe.* But the charter did not, and could not, provide for every emergency, that should arise in the affairs of a colony thrown into a situation, the wants of which could not be foreseen. In the absence of any regulation on the subject, the treaty-making power seemed naturally to rest with the executive magistrates. The construction, by which they considered the application of the Pequots as a case lying within the scope of this power, and believed themselves authorized to act in this instance, according to their discretion, for the good of the colony, cannot probably be deemed an unjust assumption. Yet we may well suppose the point appeared sufficiently doubtful to be a fair subject for difference of opinion, and to vindicate Eliot, if he was wrong, from the charge of being captious in his view of it. However unfounded might be his objection, his error could have sprung only from that watchful jealousy for the rights of the people, which has always marked the character of the American communities, and which, in most other cases at least, has been sufficiently lauded. At the particular time in question, this feeling may have been brought into stronger action, than usual, in his mind. For

* The charter may be seen in HAZARD'S *State Papers*, Vol. I.

it was in 1634, the year of the transaction with the Pequots, that the people vigorously asserted their right to a larger share in the government, and insisted on the institution of a representative body to be chosen from the several towns.* The popular interest excited by this movement was still so fresh, when the Indians sent their embassy to Boston, that there probably existed an unusually keen disposition to question and scrutinize any new exercise of power† by the governor and assistants. When Mr. Eliot spoke of the consent of the people as necessary to the making of the treaty, he must have meant the consent of the new court of delegates, the representatives of the people. To have discussed or determined the matter by a meeting of the whole people was manifestly impracticable.

With regard to Eliot's concession, it is worthy of remark, that it does not imply any change in his view of the point at issue, considered as a question of right. His explanation amounts, not to the doctrine that treaties in general

* Hutchinson, Vol. I. p. 39. See Mr. Savage's excellent remarks on the interesting occasion referred to; *Winthrop*, Vol. I. p. 129.

† There was, I believe, no instance of a treaty in Massachusetts with the Indians before this with the Pequots. Miantunnomoh, the Narraganset sachem, came to Boston for that purpose in 1632; but nothing was done See Hutchinson, Vol. I. p. 32.

might be concluded by the magistrates without consulting the people, but that in this case there was no objection to be made to the exercise of such a power, because the people could be involved in no injurious consequences by it; an explanation, which takes the ground of present expediency, not of a general principle. He doubtless felt, upon consideration, a strong reluctance to disparage the authority of government, or to create disaffection, by insisting pertinaciously on the question of right; and perhaps he had begun to see, that, should he do so, he would find it difficult to sustain his opinion. He was therefore ready at once to withdraw his opposition, and make such a statement as would allay excitement, and quiet the disturbed feelings of the magistrates; though it does not appear that he abjured the principle, on which his censure was originally founded. His conduct may be supposed to have proceeded from a discreet regard to the public peace; but I find no evidence that he was timid.*

* Hubbard praises the magnanimity Eliot displayed by acknowledging himself in the wrong. — *General History of New England*, p. 166.

It should here be remarked, that Roger Williams is said to have expressed the same views about the Pequot treaty, as Mr. Eliot did, but could not, like him, be brought to make any explanation. This statement is made in the account of Mr. Eliot in 1 Mass. Hist. Coll. Vol. VIII. p. 28, and repeated in KNOWLES's *Memoir of Roger Williams*, p. 126

Mr. Eliot's name stands connected with the agitation respecting Mrs. Hutchinson, which makes so conspicuous a figure in the early ecclesiastical history of New England. That the religious opinions of this remarkable woman were conscientiously and piously held, there is no reason to doubt; and that she possessed uncommon abilities, and knew well how to use them, must be conceded by all. If she was pragmatical or officious in the exhibition of her sentiments, the fault, however lamentable, is too common to diminish our sympathy for her hard fate. The wisdom of permitting every religious manifestation, however fantastic, if it do not disturb the rights of others, to have room in the community, and the assurance that, if it be an error or folly, it will thus soonest come to destruction, are lessons gathered from experience, but were unknown to the early

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Both of these writers refer for their authority to BENTLEY'S *History of Salem*; but neither specifies the place. I can find no such statement in Bentley's History. He says. "Unfortunately for Mr. Williams, the apostle Eliot, immortal by his services in the conversion of the Indians, had taken liberty to speak against the Indian treaty, though, being brought to confess before the magistrate, he published afterwards his recantation."—1 Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. VI p. 247. The sentence is a blind one. Why it was unfortunate for Williams, or what connexion he had with it, we are not told. I am not aware that there is any other passage, in which Bentley alludes to the subject.

settlers of New England, and not less so to their brethren in the mother country. Had the zeal of Mrs. Hutchinson been suffered to work itself off in unnoticed assemblies with her friends, or in the contests of private argument, a painful season of bitterness would have been spared to our fathers; and we should not be called to lament, that dignified magistrates and learned divines should have deemed it their duty, in solemn conclave, to hold sharp encounter with a female on antinomianism, on the covenant of grace and the covenant of works, on the personal indwelling of the Holy Ghost, on asserted revelations and internal impulses; that they should have banished her from their community, and afterwards regarded her tragical end as a special judgment for her errors and sins. She was evidently regarded as a formidable antagonist; for the author of *Wonder-working Providence*, in the midst of his invectives, calls her "the masterpiece of womens' wit." The pertinacity and zeal of Mrs. Hutchinson caused so general an excitement, that for the first time in New England a synod was summoned by order of the General Court. This assembly, which met at Cambridge in August, 1637, seem to have had as much, and probably about as useful, business on their hands, as the synods of earlier ages; for, before they separated, they pronounced condemnation on a list of eighty-

two erroneous opinions.* In November of the same year, Mrs. Hutchinson was brought before the court and several of the elders for examination.†

On this occasion Mr. Eliot appeared among the witnesses against her. He and others of the clergy had visited her, and in the course of their discussions had deemed it their duty to rebuke her for the severe and irritating censures she had uttered against all the ministers, except Cotton and Wheelwright. On the examination, Mr. Eliot as well as others gave his report of what had passed in conversation. He had at the time taken a memorandum, to which he could now appeal. "I have it in writing," said he, "therefore I do avouch it." On the second day of the examination, Mrs. Hutchinson demanded that the witnesses against her should be put on oath. This occasioned considerable discussion. Some thought there was no need of complying with her demand; others deemed it judicious to do so, for the

* A catalogue of these, with the confutation of each, is given in "*A Short Story of the Rise, Reign, and Ruin of the Antinomians*," &c., a treatise full of bitterness and bigotry, published by Welde, Eliot's colleague, after he went to England.

† A minute account of the trial is given in Hutchinson, Vol. II. p. 423, Appendix. This was "an ancient manuscript"; but at what time or by whom it was written, the historian, if he knew, does not inform us.

sake of general satisfaction. Mr. Eliot declared that he was willing "to speak upon oath," adding the remark, "I know nothing we have spoken, but we may swear to." His colleague, Welde, and Hugh Peters were ready to do the same. At length an oath was administered to these three, and they gave their testimony with respect to Mrs. Hutchinson's conversation, as before. Soon after this, the trial was closed by the condemnation and banishment of the female heresiarch.

It may be added, that during the trial Mrs. Hutchinson had spoken with great confidence of her supernatural impulses and revelations; the common resort of fanatics, especially in seasons of persecution. Mr. Eliot had the good sense to enter his protest against these idle pretensions. "I say," was his judicious remark, "there is an expectation of things promised; but to have a particular revelation of things that shall fall out, there is no such thing in the Scripture." The sentiment seems to have been regarded as somewhat bold; for the governor immediately interposed the caution, that we must not "limit the word of God." During the discussion, reference had been made by one of the deputies to a revelation, which Mr. Hooker, while he was in Holland, professed to have had respecting the approaching destruction of England. Eliot, who could not

patiently hear the name of his revered instructer adduced in support of a delusion, called in question the truth of this statement. "That speech of Mr. Hooker's," said he, "which they allege, is against his mind and judgment"; meaning, I suppose, that it was inconsistent with what he knew of Hooker's opinions and habits of thought on such subjects.* This part of the discussion at least was honorable to his frankness and sound judgment. On the whole, the agency which he had in the measures respecting this unfortunate and misguided woman, if considered in comparison with the conduct of others, cannot be alleged to his discredit. He was stern and inflexible against

* If we may credit Mather (*Magnalia*, Vol. I. Book III. p. 310), Hooker afterwards avowed at Hartford the revelation in question; so that Eliot committed the creditable mistake of thinking better of his instructer's judgment than it deserved. It may here be remarked, that Hooker had, by some report, been led to misapprehend Eliot's views about the Hutchinson excitement; for in a letter to Shepard of Cambridge he says, "A copy of Mr. Vane's expressions at Roxbury I desire to see and receive by the next messenger. I have heard my brother Eliot is come about to this opinion. I have writ to him about it. I would fain come to a bandy where I might be a little rude in the business; for I do as verily believe it to be false, as I do believe any article of my faith to be true." — *Hutchinson*, Vol. I. p. 48. Hooker's information about Eliot's opinion could not be true. There is no evidence that Eliot ever belonged to Vane's party; and in the examination of Mrs Hutchinson he was decidedly opposed to that party

ner, as the rest were. But during the proceedings at the trial, I see no evidence that he lost his temper, or indulged in bitterness of expression, as some others unhappily did. He believed he was doing his duty to God and the churches; and, if he was right in that conviction, his manner of doing it seems not justly liable to censure.

We next find Mr. Eliot concerned in an attempt, which was made to improve the psalmody of the churches. In 1639, the civil and ecclesiastical leaders of the colony decided to have a new version of the Psalms for use in public worship. The task of preparing it was assigned to Mr. Eliot, Mr. Welde, and Richard Mather of Dorchester, who were considered well qualified by their Hebrew scholarship. Their work was printed at Cambridge by Daye in 1640. It was entitled "The Psalms in Metre, faithfully translated for the Use, Edification, and Comfort of the Saints in publick and private, especially in New England." It was known by the name of "*The Bay Psalm Book*," but afterwards was more commonly designated as "*The New England Version of the Psalms*," by which appellation it is now best known. We have no means of ascertaining Eliot's individual portion of this pious labor. The reverend versifiers seem to have anticipated some unfavorable criticisms. In the

preface they say, "If the verses are not alwayes so smooth and elegant as some may desire or expect, let them consider that God's altar needs not our pollishings; for wee have respected rather a plaine translation, than to smooth our verses with the sweetness of any paraphrase, and soe have attended conscience rather than elegance, fidelity rather than poetry, in translating the Hebrew words into English language, and David's poetry into English metre."

Notwithstanding this deprecatory apology, there were some, who did not suppress their disposition to sneer at the new Psalm-book.* The poetical merits of this metrical translation are indeed sufficiently humble. One is compelled to go back in imagination two centuries, in order to understand how it was, that devotion did not expire in singing such stanzas Yet, when compared with the specimens of

* The admonition of Mr. Shepard of Cambridge to his brethren on this occasion has been often quoted, but is perhaps sufficiently curious to be repeated. It is found in the *Magnalia*, Book III. ch. 12. *Life of Dunster.*

"You Roxb'ry poets keep clear of the crime,
Of missing to give us very good rhime.
And you of Dorchester your verses lengthen,
But with the text's own words you will them strengthen."

I know not how much of censure Shepard intended; but whatever it was, the poetry of it seems scarcely better than that of the version, for the composition of which the rhyming advice was given.

church poetry then prevalent, it should not be severely condemned. At least it may be weighed against Sternhold and Hopkins without sustaining disparagement. It is not till a recent period, that the claims of the sanctuary on the hallowed powers of imagination and taste have been appreciated and answered, or that strains of true sweetness and grandeur have been consecrated to the service of God

The second edition of this version was published in 1647. When a third edition was needed, it was thought necessary to attempt some improvement. The task was committed to Dunster, president of Harvard College, who revised the whole, and added to it "Scriptural Songs and Hymns," written by Mr. Richard Lyon. The book passed through twenty editions, and was adopted immediately by all the New England churches, except that of Plymouth, into which it was not received for many years. That church used the version made by Ainsworth, whom they had known and highly respected in Holland.* The New England

* A copy of this book is in the Massachusetts Historical Society. The title is "*The Booke of Psalmes in English Metre;* by HENRY AINSWORTH." On a blank leaf, Prince, who once owned the volume, has written the following notice: "This version of Ainsworth was sung in Plymouth Colony, and I suppose in the rest of New England till the New England version was printed first in 1640." Prince's supposition with regard to "the rest of New

version was reprinted in England and Scotland, and was in high favor with many of the dissenting congregations.

The Psalms versified by Eliot, Welde, and Mather were the first *book* printed in North America. The "Freeman's Oath," and an Almanac, had been printed the preceding year.

England" differs from the statement of Dr. Holmes (*History of Cambridge*, 1 Mass. Hist. Coll.,VII. 19), who says that Sternhold and Hopkins were in common use before the New England version was undertaken. Of this last, Prince himself published in 1758 a revised and improved edition.

It may here be mentioned that Mr. Eliot appears some times to have indulged the rhyming vein for his own amusement. A few specimens of this sort, with the anagrams so common in that age, are found in the ancient book of records belonging to the church in Roxbury.

CHAPTER III.

General Remarks on the Indians. — Interest in their Conversion to Christianity. — Mr. Eliot's Preparation for the Work by learning the Indian Language.

We come now to that portion of Mr. Eliot's life, which was spent chiefly in efforts to spread the Christian faith among the native inhabitants of New England. This was the great work, to which he devoted the strongest energies of his mind, and the best part of his days. It was the mission, to which he felt himself called by the holiest inducements; and, taken in all its branches, with the collateral inquiries and exertions to which it led, it must be regarded as a remarkable passage in the great history of Christian benevolence.

When our fathers came to the western world, they found the wilderness peopled by a race who could not fail to be objects of strong interest, apart from any friendly or hostile relations. The settlers had just arrived from a country abounding in all the refinements of the old world, and were suddenly brought into the neighbourhood of a people exhibiting the peculiarities of one of the rudest forms of savage

life. Among the several tribes, who roamed over the territory, there was a general resemblance in character, modes of life, and religion.

The virtues and the vices of uncivilized man have been exaggerated. Rousseau, who found in him the model of perfection, and Volney, who sunk him beneath humanity, have left the truth between them. The savage is neither the atrocious brute described by some, nor the noble hero pictured by the imagination of others. He is simply a man, in whom the animal nature predominates, and in whom the intellectual nature, though far from being quenched, is feeble, puerile, and slumbering The several functions of his physical and spiritual being have not been developed in harmonious and well-proportioned movements, under the influences supplied by the competitions of ingenuity, by religion, by a sense of present deficiency, and an earnest longing after improvement. He is a stationary being, because he is chiefly a sensual being. The inward life is in him; but it is smothered, or has reached only its childhood. He is a standing refutation of the sophistry of those, who tell us that the savage condition is the natural state of man. Man's truly natural state is that, to which his nature, in all its developements, efforts, and wants, tends; that is, a state of the highest attainable refinement and civilization. The

Indians of New England, like all savages, were averse to regular labor of any sort. Their time was spent in the alternations of war, hunting, or fishing, and idleness or sleep. Their passions, when aroused, were fiercely impetuous, their love of revenge keen and long-cherished; but the elements of generous and noble dispositions were largely, though irregularly, mingled in their character. Their knowledge was limited nearly within the narrow circle of animal wants; and their ignorance of the use of the metals was evinced by their habit of calling an Englishman a *knife-man*, the knife being an implement wholly new to them, and one which they greatly admired.*

The germ of the spiritual, and of a tendency to the infinite, lies in the bosom of savage as

* The contributions to the history of the Indians are so numerous and common, that it is scarcely necessary to make any special references. Heckewelder's "Historical Account," published in the first volume of the *Transactions of the Historical and Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society*, is written in an attractive manner and with a deep interest in the subject. Heckewelder, however, is considered by some as having been too credulous and partial to be a trustworthy authority. It is thought that he was disposed to paint in glowing colors every thing pertaining to Indian life and character, especially among his favorite tribe, the Delawares. See an able article in the *North American Review*, Vol. XXVI. pp. 366–386; and a spirited and interesting examination of the strictures made by the writer of that article, in the *United States Literary Gazette*, Vol. IV. pp. 262–374.

well as of civilized man. The religious sentiment is there, however wild, confused, or faint may be its developement, reminding us that "under the ashes of our collapsed nature there are yet remaining sparks of celestial fire." There has been much discussion, and no little variety of statement, respecting the religion of the American Indians. Some have declared that they had no religion whatever.* This erroneous assertion was the result, partly of scanty observation, and partly of the wary reluctance of the natives to make any communications on the subject. The religion of the Indians in its general features resembled that of other uncivilized tribes. They recognised the divine power in forms suitable to their rude conceptions. The developements of this sentiment resembled in some degree the polytheism of ancient times. Each part or manifestation of nature was supposed to have its peculiar subordinate god. There was the sun god, the moon god, and so of other things. That disposition to believe in an invisible

* Winslow fell into this mistake, which however he afterwards corrected; "Whereas," says he, "myself and others in former letters wrote, that the Indians about us are a people without any religion, or knowledge of any God, therein I erred, though we could then gather no better." — *Good Newes from New England*, 2 M. H. Coll. IX. 91. A similar error is found in the accounts of Hearne and Colden.

agency concerned in each particular movement or object, which is in fact the unfashioned presentiment of the true doctrine of the Infinite Agent, was a striking part of their faith. Every thing in nature had its *spirit;* but these *Manittos* were of different rank and influence. The Indian felt the sentiment, which in more graceful or beautiful forms the imaginative religion of poetry has always loved to cherish;

> "Live not the stars and mountains? Are the waves
> Without a spirit?"

When the storm or the thunder-gust was ris ing, he would beg the Manitto of the air to avert its terrors; and when he committed his light skiff to the bosom of the mighty lake, he would pray to the Manitto of the waters to calm the swell of its heaving waves.* When any thing, which he did not understand, took place, or any exploit, indicating wonderful ability or skill, was performed, he exclaimed, it is a *spirit.*† But with this polytheism the Indians united a belief in one presiding or chief deity, the author of good, who lived far in the west part of the heavens, and in another great being, the source of all evil and mischief; a creed which contained the seminal principles

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* HECKEWELDER'S *Historical Account*, p. 205.

† So, too, the philosopher in ancient times affirmed, "Nemo igitur vir magnus sine aliquo afflatu divino unquam fuit." — CIC. *de Nat. Deorum*, Lib. II. 66.

of the Manichean doctrine. The notion of some form of existence after the present, and the crude elements of the doctrine of retribution, were found among them. Their conceptions of a future life were sometimes connected in a touching manner with the affections and sympathies growing out of the relations of this life.* But in these respects, doubtless, there were differences among them corresponding to individual susceptibilities and habits of feeling.

Something in the nature of a priesthood was found among the New England Indians. They had an order of men and women called *powaws*, in whose connexion with invisible powers they had great faith. The common office of these persons was to cure diseases by means of herbs, roots, exorcisms, and magical incantations. A powaw, in short, was at once priest, physician, and juggler. This order of men, we may readily suppose, exercised a strong and fearful influence over a people disposed by ignorance to see the mysterious only in its grossest forms, and to tremble before it. Their power was found to present a formidable obstacle to the spread of Christianity; "for," said the Indians, "if we once pray to God, we must abandon our powaws, and then, when we

* See a beautiful instance of this in CARVER's *Travels*, p. 231.

are sick and wounded, who shall heal our maladies?"*

Such, among the Indians, were the principal elements of that religious sentiment, which is an indestructible part of man's nature, and which always struggles forth into some outward expressions, however gross and barbarous. These were the minds, upon which and for which Eliot was to work. His task was certainly a laborious one; and it required a strong faith, like his, to make it lighter by the encouragement of hope.

When the settlement of New England began, an interest in the civilization and conversion of the Indians was felt by many in the mother country. Among others, Dr. Lake, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, had the object so much at heart, as to declare that nothing but his old age prevented him from going to America and devoting himself to the work. In the charter granted by Charles the First to the Massachusetts colony, this was mentioned as a principal

* On the religion of the Indians, Gookin (1 M. H. Coll. I. 154, *et seq.*); Dr. Jarvis's learned and able *Discourse before the New York Historical Society*, December 20th, 1819; Heckewelder's *Historical Account;* and Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Amériquains*, may be consulted with advantage. On the general subject of the religion of savage life, there are many fine remarks in the work of Constant, *De la Religion, &c.*

object.* In the Plymouth colony, for many years after the landing, but little was or could be done in a systematic way towards bringing the natives within the Christian church. "O that you had converted some, before you killed any," said John Robinson in a letter to the governor of Plymouth. The wish was an expression of a pious concern honorable to the good man; but the circumstances of the Pilgrim fathers must vindicate their conduct from any blame, which it might imply. A few instances occurred, in which the interest of the Indians was excited towards the religion of their new neighbors. One of them in 1622 was induced, by the supposed answer from Heaven to the prayer of the English for rain, to forsake his tribe, and seek some knowledge of the Englishman's God. Two years after the English settled in Massachusetts, Sagamore John, who had from the first been kind and courteous to them, contracted an affection for

* In this instrument the desire is expressed, that the settlers "maie wynn and incite the Natives of the Country to the Knowledg and Obedience of the onlie true God and Sauior of Mankinde, and the Christian Fayth, which in our Royall Intencon, and the Adventurers free Profession, is the principall Ende of this Plantacion." — HAZARD'S *State Papers*, Vol. I. p. 252. It should perhaps be mentioned, that the device on the seal of the Massachusetts colony was an Indian with a label at his mouth, containing the words "*Come over and help us.*"

their religion, but was soon carried off by the small-pox. One of the Pequots, named Wequash, was so impressed with the destruction of his tribe, that he importuned the Christians to make him acquainted with their God; and having become, as was supposed, a sincere convert, is said to have died by poison given him by his incensed follow-savages. Hiacoomes, the distinguished Indian of Martha's Vineyard, was converted in 1643. But these were incidental cases, not resulting from systematic efforts on the part of our fathers. Probably they judged wisely in not making such efforts, till they had become better acquainted with the Indian character. Besides, the care, toil, and anxiety which gathered around the work of an infant settlement, "res dura et regni novitas," the quarrels in which they were involved with the natives, and the disturbances among themselves, were sufficient for some time to occupy all their industry, and engross all their energy

But at length a direct action was awakened on this subject. In 1646 an order was passed by the General Court of Massachusetts to promote the diffusion of Christianity among the aboriginal inhabitants. The elders of the churches were requested to consider how it might be best effected.* It was probably this proceeding on the part of the government,

* Hutchinson, Vol. I. p. 151

which fixed the immediate attention of Mr. Eliot on the project. He had, however, long felt a deep concern for the moral condition of the natives; a concern inspired by his sanctified love of doing good, and increased probably by his belief, that the Indians were the descendants of the lost tribes of Israel. This theory, among the numerous conjectures on the origin of the natives of America, has found advocates not deficient in learning or talents, however weak may be the foundation on which their reasoning rests.*

* This much agitated topic still remains one of "the vexed questions" of historical criticism. The theory opposed by Mr. Eliot was zealously defended by Adair, and more recently by Dr. Boudinot in his "Star in the West." I find that in Allen's *Biographical Dictionary*, and in Holmes's *American Annals* (second edit. Vol. I. p. 434), a work on this subject is ascribed to Eliot, entitled "The Jews in America." This, however, is a mistake. Thomas Thorowgood, one of the Assembly of Divines, published at London, in 1650, a work entitled "Jewes in America, or Probabilities that the Americans are of that Race," &c. To this book Cotton Mather alludes in one of his poor puns, when he says, that Eliot "saw some learned men looking for the lost Israelites among the Indians in America, and counting that they had *thorow-good* reasons for doing so." In 1660 a *second part* of Thorowgood's work was published in London, with the title, "Jewes in America; or Probabilities that those Indians are Judaical, made more probable by some Additionals to the former Conjectures." To this part "an accurate Discourse is premised by Mr. John Eliot (who first preached the Gospel to the Natives in their own

Mr. Eliot had been for some time assiduously employed in learning the Indian language. To accomplish this, he secured the assistance of one of the natives, who could speak English. Eliot, at the close of his Indian Grammar, mentions him as "a pregnant-witted young man, who had been a servant in an English house, who pretty well understood his own language, and had a clear pronunciation." *

Language) touching their Origination, and his Vindication of the Planters." See Rich's valuable "Catalogue of Books relating principally to America," Part I. p. 86. The connexion of Mr. Eliot's name with the book, by means of his "Discourse," was probably the occasion of the work being erroneously ascribed to him.

* Mr. Eliot had previously spoken of him in a letter written in 1648. "There is," he says, "an Indian living with Mr. Richard Calicott of Dorchester, who was taken in the Pequott Warres, though belonging to Long Island; this Indian is ingenious, can read; and I taught him to write, which he quickly learnt, though I know not what use he now maketh of it; *he was the first that I made use of to teach me words and to be my Interpreter.*" This young man was then about to join the church in Dorchester. — Winslow's *Glorious Progresse of the Gospel*, p. 19. The name of this Indian is supposed by Drake (*Book of the Indians*, b. II. p. 111) to have been *Job Nesutan*; and for this he quotes the authority of Gookin's *History, &c. of the Christian Indians.* But Gookin's assertion does not prove so much. He says, that Job Nesutan "was a very good linguist in the English tongue, and was Mr. Eliot's assistant and interpreter in his translation of the Bible and other books in the Indian language." Whether he was Eliot's first teacher in the language does not appear; it is not improbable, however, that he was.

He took this Indian into his family, and by constant intercourse with him soon became sufficiently conversant with the vocabulary and construction of the language to translate the ten commandments, the Lord's prayer, and several passages of Scripture, besides composing exhortations and prayers.

Here was a task, which must have been formidable enough to discourage any one, whose motives had been those of mere curiosity. The language, which this devoted man resolved to acquire as an instrument to be used in the cause of religion, must have presented appalling difficulties. The Indian tongues have of late years been made a subject of curious inquiry by learned philologists. For a long time it had been customary to describe them as wretchedly poor and meagre dialects, composed only of barbarous and irregular jargon This is found to be an entire mistake, with respect to the languages both of the northern and southern tribes. They are represented to be copiously expressive in their stock of words, and remarkably regular in their structure.

Whatever may be said of the scanty fund of ideas in the mind of the savage, and however it may be supposed that these must be confined to the obvious forms and phenomena of material things, yet the fact that the whole Bible could be translated into his language and

be made intelligible to him, affords sufficient evidence, that moral relations and even metaphysical ideas could be adequately expressed in his speech, however destitute it might be of the polished refinement, or the critical precision, belonging to the tongues of civilized nations. The long words, which are found in the Indian languages present indeed a formidable aspect, and seem to set pronunciation at defiance. Cotton Mather, who loved a jest and superstition about equally well, thought they must have been growing ever since the confusion at Babel. He tells us in the same breath, that he once put some demons upon their skill in the tongues, and found that though they could manage to understand Latin, Greek, and Hebrew very well, they were utterly baffled by the speech of the American natives. The language, which thus sorely puzzled the demons, has been discovered by the inquiries of indefatigable scholars to be an important branch of grammatical research.*

* For information concerning the Indian languages, which exhibit many curious and remarkable phenomena, the reader is referred to the labors of those accomplished American scholars, Pickering and Duponceau, in their *Observations and Notes on Eliot's Indian Grammar*, (2 M. H. Coll. IX. 223, &c.); the Correspondence between Heckewelder and Duponceau (Transactions of the Hist. and Lit. Com. of the Am. Phil. Soc. I. 357–448); Edwards's *Observations*, (2 M. H. Coll. X. 81–134), to which Dugald

Mr. Eliot must have found his task any thing but easy or inviting. He was to learn a dialect, in which he could be assisted by no affinity with the languages he already knew. He was to do this without the help of any written or printed specimens, with nothing in the shape of a grammar or analysis, but merely by oral communication with his Indian instructer, or with other natives, who, however comparatively intelligent, must from the nature of the case have been very imperfect teachers. He applied himself to the work with great patience and sagacity, carefully noting the differences between the Indian and the English modes of constructing words; and, having once got a clew to this, he pursued every noun and verb he could think of through all possible variations. In this way he arrived at analyses and rules, which he could apply for himself in a general manner.

Neal says, that Eliot was able to speak the language intelligibly after conversing with the

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Stewart refers with much interest in the third volume of his *Philosophy*; and the Appendix to the sixth volume of the *Encyclopædia Americana*. The celebrated German work, *Mithridates, oder allgemeine Sprachenkunde, &c.*, by Adelung, Vater, and Humboldt, is a wonderful treasury of research. Roger Williams's *Key into the Language of America*, reprinted by the Rhode Island Historical Society, in 1827, as well as Eliot's *Grammar*, affords valuable aid in these curious inquiries.

Indian servant *a few months*.* This in a limited sense may be true; but he is said to have been engaged two years in the process of learning, before he went to preach to the Indians. In that time he acquired a somewhat ready facility in the use of that dialect, by means of which he was to carry the instructions of spiritual truth to the men of the forest, though as late as 1649 he still lamented his want of skill in this respect.

When we consider the irksomeness of the effort to learn, at the middle age of life, a new tongue, remote in its character and derivation from any already known to us, even with all the aids of well-prepared books and trained instructers, we may form some estimate of the invincible perseverance, the unwearied zeal, which could impel Mr. Eliot to undertake, alone and under every discouragement and difficulty, to explore a dialect, that not only had no literary treasures to reward his toil, but was merely the unwritten medium of intercourse among the squalid and barbarous natives of the wilderness. Nothing but the sustaining influence of a pious purpose, joined with great natural energy of spirit, could have carried him through so heavy a labor. In the annals of literary industry it is related of Cato, that he learned Greek at an advanced age, and of Dr. Johnson

* History of New England, Vol. I. p. 242

that he studied Dutch a few years before his death. In these cases there were abundant helps and allurements. But a more honorable fact is recorded of John Eliot, when it is told that he found his way, through so many obstacles, to the acquisition of a language, which offered nothing to gratify taste or to impart wisdom, solely that he might use the spoken and written word for his God and his Savior. Well might he say, as he does with pious simplicity of heart at the end of his Indian Grammar, "Prayer and pains through faith in Christ Jesus will do any thing."

CHAPTER IV.

Eliot's First Visits to the Indians at Nonantum.

Mr. Eliot's mental powers had now reached the maturity of their strength; his habits of judgment were well formed and ripened; his zeal in the service of religion had by long exercise grown into a deep as well as fervent principle of action. He was in the forty-second year of his age, when he began to devote himself to the work of preaching Christianity to the natives of New England. From the interest he had taken in their language and their welfare he was no stranger to such of the Indians, as might be found in the neighborhood of Roxbury. It may be presumed, that he had already by personal acquaintance gained the respect, perhaps the affection of some among them. It would seem from his own account, that he had frequently conversed with the Indians on topics relating to their improvement, before he visited them at their dwellings. Some of them were so struck with the advantages of the habits of civilized life, that they were desirous of adopting the customs of the English. They expressed their belief, that in forty years many of their people would be

"all one" with the English, and that in a hundred years they would all be so. They hoped to coalesce with the white man, instead of vanishing before him. Eliot was much affected by this declaration. He endeavored to make them understand, that the causes of the superiority of the English were their possession of the knowledge of the true God, and their skilful industry in the mechanical arts, and in providing for themselves the comforts of life by regular labor. They then lamented their ignorance of God, and wished to be taught how they might serve him. Eliot, glad to find their interest thus excited, told them he would visit them at their wigwams, and instruct them, together with their wives and children, in the truths of religion. This promise they received with much joy.*

Notice having been given of his intention, Mr. Eliot in company with three others, whose names are not mentioned, having implored the divine blessing on the undertaking, made his first visit to the Indians on the 28th of October, 1646, at a place afterwards called *Nonantum*, a spot, that has the honor of being the first, on which a civilized and Christian settlement of Indians was effected within the Eng-

* Mr. Eliot's letter to Shepard in "The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians in New England," p. 17.

lish colonies of North America. This name was given to the high grounds in the north-east part of Newton, and to the bounds of that town and Watertown. At a short distance from the wigwams, they were met by Waban, a leading man among the Indians at that place, accompanied by others, and were welcomed with "English salutations."* Waban, who is described as "the chief minister of justice among them," had before shown a better disposition, than any other native, to receive the religious instruction of the Christians, and had voluntarily proposed to have his eldest son educated by them. His son had been accordingly placed at school in Dedham, whence he had now come to attend the meeting.

The Indians assembled in Waban's wigwam; and thither Mr. Eliot and his friends were conducted. When the company were all collected and quiet, a religious service was begun with prayer. This was uttered in English; the reason for which, as given by Mr. Eliot and his companions, was, that he did not then feel

* Mr. Carne, who permits imagination, in some instances, to take the place of sober history, describes Mr. Eliot as approaching the Indians with "his translation of the Scriptures, like a calumet of peace and love, in his hand."— *Lives of Eminent Missionaries*, Vol. I. p. 10. Mr. Carne should have remembered that the translation was not accomplished till many years after this event.

sufficiently acquainted with the Indian language to use it in that service. The scruple may, at first sight, seem overstrained, when we remember that the meaning of the heart, not the words of the lips, constitute the essence of prayer. But the good man doubtless deemed it irreverent to use in an exercise of devotion those imperfect expressions, which might possibly convey improper or defective ideas to the rude minds of his hearers; an effect which, especially at the outset, he would justly think was by all means to be avoided. The same difficulty would not occur in preaching, since for this, we may suppose, he had sufficiently prepared his thoughts and expressions to make his discourse intelligible on all important points; and if he should, in some parts, fail of being understood, he could repeat or correct himself, till he should succeed better. Besides, he took with him an interpreter, who was frequently able to express his instructions more distinctly, than he could himself. Though the prayer was unintelligible to the Indians, yet, as they knew what the nature of the service was, Mr. Eliot believed it might be not without an effect in subduing their feelings so as to prepare them better to listen to the preaching. It was moreover intended as an exercise of the heart for himself and his brethren, with regard to the duty before them.

Mr. Eliot then began his sermon, or address, from Ezek. xxxvii. 9, 10. The word *wind*, in this passage suggested to the minds of some, who afterwards gave an account of this meeting, a coincidence which might, in the spirit of the times, be construed into a special appointment of Providence. The name of Waban signified, in the Indian tongue, *wind*; so that when the preacher uttered the words, "say to the wind," it was as if he had proclaimed, "say to *Waban*." As this man afterwards exerted much influence in awaking the attention of his fellow savages to Christianity, it might seem that in this first visit of the messengers of the gospel he was singled out by a special call to work in the cause. It is not surprising that the Indians were struck with the coincidence. Mr. Eliot gave no countenance to a superstitious use of the circumstance, and took care to tell them that, when he chose his text, he had no thought of any such application.*

In his discourse from this passage, the preacher stated and explained to the untaught minds of the assembly some of the leading truths of natural religion, and of Christianity. He repeated the ten commandments with brief comments, and set forth the fearful consequences of violating them, with special appli-

* Shepard's *Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel, &c.*, p. 33.

cations to the condition of his audience. He spoke of the creation and fall of man, the greatness of God, the means of salvation by Jesus Christ, the happiness of faithful believers, and the final misery of the wicked, adding such persuasions to repentance as he supposed might touch their hearts. He did not choose to take up more abstruse matters, till he had given his untutored hearers a taste of "plain and familiar truths." Of the topics which have been mentioned, though high and difficult in themselves, the preacher probably presented only the most simple points, illustrated by homely explanations. The sermon was an hour and a quarter long. One cannot but suspect, that Mr. Eliot injudiciously crowded too much into one address. It would seem to have been better, for the first time at least, to have given a shorter sermon, and to have touched upon fewer subjects. But he was doubtless borne on by his zeal to do much in a good cause, and, as we have reason to think, by the attentive, though vague, curiosity of the Indians.

The scene presents itself to our imaginations as one of deep interest. Here was a gifted scholar, educated amidst the classic shades of an English university, exiled from his native land for conscience' sake, a man of high distinction in the churches of New England, standing among the humble and rude huts of

the forest, surrounded by a peaceful group of savages, on whose countenances might be traced the varieties of surprise, belief, vacancy, and perhaps half-suppressed scorn, seeking to find some points of intercourse between his own cultivated mind and their gross conceptions, that spiritual truth might enter into their hearts, and leave its light and blessing there. The communication of Christian instruction in such a place, and under such circumstances, has an affecting significance. To use the beautiful illustration in the original narrative of this visit, it was breaking the alabaster box of precious ointment in the dark and gloomy habitations of the unclean.

Our natural curiosity to know how this discourse was received can be in some measure gratified. When the sermon was ended, Mr. Eliot asked the Indians whether they understood what he had said. Many voices at once answered in the affirmative. They were then requested to propose any questions, which might have occurred to them in connexion with the discourse. This drew from them the following queries. First; how they might be brought to know Jesus Christ. Second; whether God or Jesus Christ could understand prayers in the Indian language. Third; whether there ever was a time, when the English were as ignorant of divine things as them-

selves. Fourth; how cou d there be an image of God, since it was forbidden in the fourth commandment. Fifth; whether, if a father be bad and his child good, God will be offended with the child; a question referring to what is said in the second commandment. Sixth; how came the world so full of people, if they were all once drowned in the flood. These inquiries seem natural, and some of them indicate a more attentive state of mind, and deeper reflection, than could have been expected. The second question affords a striking instance of the views, which men in the lowest stage of culture entertain of the attributes of the Deity. It arose from the circumstance, that one of the Indians, while praying in his own language, was interrupted by another, who told him it was useless to pray except in English, because prayers in the Indian tongue would not be understood by a Being, who had been accustomed to hear them only in English. This anecdote is valuable as an illustration of the manner, in which the religious sentiment is developed among savage tribes. The fifth question is not without interest, as exhibiting a tendency to more precise ideas of moral justice, than are commonly found in the speculations of uncivilized man. All these queries were answered by their visiters somewhat at length, and with a judiciously directed

endeavor to meet and satisfy their state of mind.

Mr. Eliot and his companions, wishing to interest and enlighten them still further, proposed in their turn a few questions, adapted to draw out their thoughts respecting what they had heard. They asked the Indians, whether they would not like to see God, and whether they were not tempted to doubt of his existence, because they could not see him. To this some of them replied, that, although an actual sight of this great Being would please them much, yet they believed he was not to be seen with the eyes of the body, but by "their soul within." The answer implies a wise and thoughtful recognition of a great principle; but it may have been only the verbal repetition of what they had learned. Mr. Eliot then asked them whether they found no difficulty in believing, that one God should be in many different and distant places at the same time. Their reply was, that it did seem strange to them, yet they thought it might be true. Their instructer happily illustrated this point to their apprehensions by comparing the divine omnipresence to the light of the sun, which, while it shone in one wigwam, shone also in the next, and all over Massachusetts, and across the big waters in old England also. He next inquired of them, whether, when they had done

wrong, they did not feel trouble within, and where they hoped to find comfort when they should die. This appeal to the inextinguishable power of the moral faculty in the human breast, and to the sentiment of immortality, was answered by the confession, that they did feel distressed when they had sinned, and that they wished for further light on the subject; "for," says the account, "some knowledge of the immortality of the soul almost all of them have." Their reply gave their teacher an opportunity to aim some pungent remarks at their consciences and their fears.

Thus ended a conference three hours long, at the end of which the Indians affirmed that they were not weary, and requested their visiters to come again. They expressed a wish to build a town and live together. Mr. Eliot promised to intercede for them with the court. He and his companions then gave the men some tobacco, and the children some apples, and bade them farewell.

A fortnight afterwards, on the 11th of November, Mr. Eliot and his friends repeated their visit to the wigwam of Waban. This meeting was more numerous than the former. The religious service was opened, as before, with a prayer in English. This was followed by a few brief and plain questions addressed to the children, admitting short and easy

answers. The children seemed well disposed to listen and learn. To encourage them, Mr Eliot gave them occasionally an apple or a cake; * and the adults were requested to repeat to them the instructions that had been given. He then preached to the assembly in their own language, telling them that he had come to bring them good news from God, and show them how wicked men might become good and happy, and in general discoursing on nearly the same topics as he had treated at his first visit.

This was succeeded by conversation, in which questions were proposed and answered. One aged Indian touched the feelings of his instructers by asking whether it were not too late for such an old man as he to repent and seek God. Their reply was an appropriate illustration of the paternal mercy of the divine character. They told the aged savage, that, as a good father is always glad to welcome home a son penitent for the wrong he has done, so God would at no time refuse to pardon and receive one of his repenting children. Some of the assembly then desired to know how it happened, that the English differed so much from the Indians in their knowledge of God, since they all had one common Father; a

* This pleasant little circumstance is mentioned by Winthrop, Vol. II. p. 304.

question which furnished Mr. Eliot with an opportunity to give them some explanation of the religious history of mankind. Another inquiry was, how they might be brought to serve God; in answer to which they were told, that they must first feel their unworthiness, then seek forgiveness, and strive to know God's will, as a dutiful child would seek to know his father's will. A fourth question was proposed, which indicated a curiosity about natural phenomena. How comes it to pass, said they, that the sea water is salt, and the land water fresh? The reply was, that it was God's pleasure to make them so, in the same way as strawberries are sweet and cranberries sour, for which there is no reason except that the Creator so constituted them. However, an attempt was made to explain the natural causes and uses of the fact in question; but these, it is stated, were "less understood." This was followed by another question of a like character, namely, If the water be higher than the earth, why does it not overflow the earth? To meet this difficulty, their visiters held up an apple, and "showed them how the earth and water made one round globe, like that apple;" and they compared the sea to a great hole or ditch, into which when water is poured, it is confined, and cannot overflow. The last point they proposed was a question of casuistry;

If an Indian should steal goods, and not be punished by the sachem or by any law, and then should restore the goods, would all be well and right, or would God still punish him for his theft? They were taught, that such conduct would be an offence to God, who, if it were not repented of, would punish the transgressor, even if he should escape punishment from man. There was a higher law, than human law, to which they must answer for their conduct.

When the Indians had made an end of their inquiries, Mr. Eliot and his companions proposed to them only two questions, the object of which was to discover whether they remembered and believed what they had heard. The meeting was closed with prayer. This was expressed in the Indian language, chiefly for the reason that some doubt had formerly been raised whether prayers in that tongue were understood in Heaven; a doubt which was probably strengthened by Mr. Eliot's practice at the first meeting. During the devotional exercise, one of the assembly was deeply affected, even to tears, illustrating the fine remark of Madame de Staël, that "to pray together, in whatever language and according to whatever ritual it may be, is the most affecting bond of hope and sympathy, which man can contract on earth." After the prayer, the English visiters had some

conversation with this man, when he wept still more, and seemed pierced to the heart by the pungent power of divine truth. The fervent appeals and the touching descriptions in Eliot's preaching may well be supposed to have stirred up strong emotions in a rude breast, brought for the first time to feel, however confusedly, the reality of spiritual things; and in that excitement might be the germ of an inward life, which needed only time and opportunity to grow into fulness and strength. The whole afternoon was spent in this visit; and as nightfall approached, Mr. Eliot and the others returned to their homes.

A third interview with these Indians took place on the 26th of November, at which the writer of the narrative before referred to was not present. He has however given a brief account of it, which he had from Mr. Eliot, "the man of God," as he calls him, "who then preached to them." Some impediments had been thrown in the way of the good work since the last meeting by persuasions and menaces. Neal ascribes this mischievous interference to the powaws or priests.* But Eliot's account does not specify them particularly; though it is natural to suppose that their agency was not wanting in the business. This circumstance gave the preacher occasion to warn the Indians

* History of New England, Vol. I. p. 324.

against the temptations of the Devil; which, as the account affirms, he did with great pungency and effect. The Indians were more serious than ever. Among the questions they started were the following; Whether it were lawful, as some of their people affirmed, to pray to the Devil; what was meant by humiliation; why the English called them Indians; what a spirit is; whether dreams are to be believed. To all which, as the narrative states, they had fit answers; but these are not given.

On the Saturday night after this third meeting, a judicious Indian, by the name of Wampas, went as a messenger from Nonantum to Mr. Eliot's house in Roxbury. He took with him his own son, and three other children. He asked permission to leave them with the English, that they might be educated to know God; for, he said, if they remained at home, they would grow up in rudeness and wickedness. The children were at the ages of four, five, eight, and nine years. What became of them we know not. We only learn that Wampas received a promise, with which he was satisfied, that his request should be complied with as soon as convenience would permit. This would seem to have presented a favorable opportunity for trying the experiment of a Christian education upon Indian children; and it would be gratifying to learn the result.

Wampas was attended by two young and strong Indians, who wished to find employment as servants in English families, that they might be in the way of knowing and enjoying the true religion. These were among the number, who had appeared deeply affected at the Nonantum meetings. How long their good impressions lasted, we are not informed; but situations were obtained for them in families, according to their request.

Mr. Eliot experienced great satisfaction in being informed of the zeal of Waban. On the night after the third meeting, this man had been heard by an English youth instructing his company in the truths they had listened to from the preacher that day; and, when he awoke in the night, he would be continually praying and exhorting. Eliot's companion expresses his belief, that this man might become an instrument of great usefulness, but still does not conceal his apprehension that "cowardice or witchery" might blast the hopeful promise in this, as in some other cases; a fear, which in the instance of Waban was not realized.

It is further related, that the old man, who asked the affecting question at the second meeting, had six sons, one of whom, and his wife, were *powaws*. These had resolved to abandon their sorceries and to seek Christian instruction; for they now believed that God

was the only author of good, and they would have nothing more to do with *Chepian*, that is, the Devil. The young Indians, who had accompanied Wampas, explained to the English the manner, in which their powaws were made; and it is a somewhat curious fact in the history of the religion of barbarous tribes. It seems, that if any Indian happened to have a certain strange dream, in which Chepian appeared to him in the form of a serpent, the next day he would relate his dream to his companions This was immediately regarded by them as an intimation from the invisible world, that the person so visited in his sleep must be made a powaw. The Indians consequently would gather together, and dance and rejoice around him for two days. This was considered as his institution in the office of priest; and thenceforth his chief business was to cure the sick by magical powers and odd gesticulations. Yet there seems to have been nothing sacred in his person; if a patient died under his hands, he was bitterly reviled, and very likely to be killed by some of the friends of the deceased, especially if they could not recover what they had paid for the promised cure; for, it appears, the powaw took care to get his fee beforehand.

On the 9th of December a fourth meeting of the Indians was held at Nonantum. Of this

we have but a brief and general account. It is stated, that the Indians offered all their children to be instructed by the English, and lamented that they were unable to pay any thing for their education. This suggested the necessity of making preparations for establishing a school among or near them; an object which Mr. Eliot had always much at heart, and which he rightly judged to be one of the most important means of accomplishing his benevolent purposes. At this meeting a passage of Scripture was explained, and applied to the condition of his hearers. Questions, as before, were proposed by both parties. One of the assembly complained of a new species of persecution from his fellows. He stated, that they reviled the Christian Indians, and called them rogues, for cutting off their hair and wearing it short, as the English did. We discover an amusing specimen of the notions, which then prevailed, when we are told it was considered an evidence of the influence of Christianity on the natives, that they became sensible of "the vanity and pride which they placed in their hair," and, without any persuasion, cut it off, after "the modest manner" of their civilized neighbors. If we are inclined to smile at this, we should remember, that, in times claiming to be more enlightened, other things, as frivolous and indifferent as this, have been made matters

of religious duty. It was not long afterwards, that the offence of wearing long hair became so formidable in New England, as to induce grave magistrates to enter into a combination for its suppression. Mr. Eliot, we may presume, was as decided an enemy to long natural locks, as we shall hereafter see he was to the practice of wearing wigs.

Our good evangelist * was much encouraged by the evidences of piety in Waban and some others. They used in their prayers such fervent and devout expressions as these; "Take away, Lord, my stony heart; wash, Lord, my soul; Lord, lead me, when I die, to heaven." These words they had not, as we might suspect, learned by rote; for their preacher affirmed he had never used them in his prayers at their meetings. There were indications of a true religious feeling among the Indians, which Eliot was thankfully disposed to consider as omens of good. He and his companions, however, were not credulous. They indulged with caution and sobriety the hopes these meetings had inspired. They were well aware, to use the language of their narrative, that "the pro-

* Mr. Eliot's modesty induced him earnestly to disclaim "the title of evangelist," which he so truly deserved, and which designates justly his peculiar labors. See Whitfield's *Farther Discovery of the Present State of the Indians in New England*, p. 18.

fession of many is but a mere paint, and their best graces nothing but flashes and pangs, which are suddenly kindled, and as soon go out again." But they labored in faith; for, they said, "God doth not usually send his plough and seedsman to a place, but there is at least some little piece of good ground, although three to one be naught." They were delighted to believe, that the minds of some of the savages were open to the reception of divine truth, and that by God's blessing the good seed, sown in a soil hitherto dry and barren, would yet spring up, and in time yield the true fruit.

I have ventured to be the more particular in describing these four meetings, which Eliot and his associates had with the Indians at Nonantum, because they were the commencement* of that mission, to which he devoted so large a part of his life and strength, and because they afford, probably, a fair specimen of his general manner of instruction. They bear unequivocal testimony to his singleness

* There had indeed been a meeting at Cutshamakin's wigwam, near "Dorchester mill," six weeks before the first meeting at Nonantum; but it amounted to little, and I know not that any account of it is to be found. Mr. Eliot himself says, "I first began with the Indians of Noonanetum" (Nonantum). — SHEPARD'S *Cleare Sun-shine, &c.* p. 17.

of heart, and to the kind and faithful spirit, in which this excellent man entered upon his arduous task.*

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* For a notice of the original narrative, from which is taken the above account of the first visits to Nonantum, and of other ancient tracts used in preparing this Memoir, see APPENDIX, No. I.

To this place belongs an extract from the Roxbury Church Records in Eliot's handwriting, under the year 1646, for which I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Mr. Putnam, and which may preserve for the curious a singular fact in the history of our climate. It is as follows. "This winter was one of the mildest that ever we had; *no snow all winter long*, nor sharp weather; but they had long floods at Connecticut, which was much [injury] to their corn in the meadows. We never had a bad day to go and preach to the Indians all this winter, praised be the Lord."

CHAPTER V.

The Nonantum Establishment. — Meetings and Eliot's Preaching at Neponset. — Cutshamakin. — Questions and Difficulties proposed by the Indians. — Eliot at Concord.

Mr. Eliot's care for the Indians was not confined to religious teaching. It was his favorite and well-known opinion, that no permanent good effect could be produced by efforts for their spiritual welfare, unless civilization and social improvement should precede or accompany such efforts.* In conformity with this sound view of the subject, he had already endeavored to introduce among them the benefits of a school. He now aimed to soften, and gradually to abolish, their savage mode of life, by bringing them together under some social

* This opinion he has expressed in many passages of his letters. The Reverend John Danforth of Dorchester, who wrote verses consecrated to the memory of Eliot, put his hints on this subject into rhyme;

"Address, I pray, your senate for good orders
To *civilize* the heathen in our borders."

And again;

"We hope in vain the plant of *grace* will thrive
In forests where *civility* can't live."

See 1 M. H. Coll. IX. 176.

arrangement. The Indians, with Waban at their head, formed the plan of a settlement, and framed certain laws for their own regulation. These laws are interesting, as specimens of savage legislation, and as indicating the existing habits among these people. They relate entirely to the promotion of decency, cleanliness, industry, and good order.*

When the natives had received a grant of land for the settlement, they next wished to find a name for it. Their English friends advised them to call it Noonatomen or Nonantum, which name was accordingly adopted.†

They now began to work very industriously, being encouraged and aided by Mr. Eliot, who promised to furnish them with spades, shovels, mattocks, iron crows, &c., and to give them sixpence a rod for their work on the ditches and walls. So zealous were they in their new enterprise, that he says they called for tools

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* See *Day-Breaking of the Gospell*, &c., p. 22.

† The name is variously written by different authors, and sometimes by the same, Nonantum, Nonandem, Noonatomen, and Noonanetum. "This towne the Indians did desire to know what name it should have, and it was told them it should bee called Noonatomen, which signifies in English *rejoycing*, because, they hearing the word and seeking to know God, the English did rejoyce at it, and God did rejoyce at it, which pleased them much; and therefore that is to be the name of their towne." — *The Day-Breaking of the Gospell*, &c., p. 22.

faster than he could supply them. The wigwams they built were in a better style than formerly. Before this time they had used mats; but now they used the bark of trees in constructing their humble dwellings, and had in them distinct rooms.

By Eliot's direction they fenced their grounds with ditches and stone walls, some vestiges of which were remembered by persons in the latter part of the last century. Their women partook of the spirit of improvement, and became skilful spinners, their good teacher himself taking pains to procure wheels for them. They began to experience the stimulating advantages of traffic, and found something to carry to market in the neighboring towns. In the winter they sold brooms, staves, eel-pots, baskets, and turkeys; in the summer, whortleberries, grapes, and fish; in the spring and autumn, strawberries, cranberries, and venison. In the season for hay and harvest, they sometimes worked on wages for their English neighbors, but were not found to be hardy and persevering laborers.

The impulse of improvement, however imperfect, was strongly felt. The poorest wigwams among them were equal to those of the princes or sachems in other places. Their infant settlement, rude and poor as it must necessarily have been, already began to show, that

man, amidst the relations of a community in some degree orderly, working with his own hands for himself and his family, is a being far superior to man roaming through the forest in reckless vagrancy, with no excitement to industry in any form, and dividing his time between hunting and sleep.

The interest, which Eliot took in founding and promoting this little establishment, is scarcely less honorable to his memory, than his labors of piety. When we thus see one, whose talents and attainments fitted him to stand with the highest in the land, busying himself in the minute details of such an enterprise, procuring tools for the men and spinning-wheels for the women, advising and assisting them with the kindness of paternal wisdom in their new attempt at social order, we cannot but feel, that in the humblest work of benevolence, which man performs for his fellow man, there are the elements of true moral greatness. We are reminded of the excellent Oberlin, the pastor of Waldbach, whose life is one of the most delightful narratives in the history of the lowly but important labors of devoted piety.*

* Hutchinson (1. 153), who is followed in the *History of Newton* (1 M. H. Coll. V. 259), says, that the Indians built a house for public worship at Nonantum, fifty feet long and twenty-five broad, which Mr. Wilson said, "appeared like the workmanship of an English housewright."

Thus was established a company of *praying Indians*, by which significant appellation the converts to Christianity became distinguished.

Another place for religious meetings and instruction was found at Neponset, within the limits of Dorchester. There our evangelist preached in the wigwam of a sachem named Cutshamakin. Gookin informs us, that this man was the first *sachem* to whom Mr. Eliot preached. It is probable that the operations at Nonantum and at Neponset were nearly simultaneous in their origin. They appear to have been carried on alternately for some time.

With Cutshamakin the English had entered into a treaty. He was one of the chiefs, who in 1643 made a voluntary proffer of submission to the government of the colony, agreeing to observe their laws, on condition of receiving the same protection which was extended to other subjects. When this agreement was ratified, they were made to understand the articles, and "all the ten commandments of God,"* to which they gave a full assent. This curious specimen of the intermixture of reli-

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This I suppose to be an erroneous statement. I cannot find that any house for public worship was built at Nonantum. Wilson's remark was applied to the house subsequently built at Natick, which was of the dimensions here given. I suppose Hutchinson inadvertently transferred it to Nonantum.

* SAVAGE'S *Winthrop*, Vol. II. p. 157.

gious instruction with a civil negotiation shows at least, a pious solicitude on the part of our fathers for the good of the natives; but, we may suppose, the assent to the ten commandments was easily gained, if the other articles were satisfactory.

At what time Cutshamakin became a Christian, or professed to be such, I have not discovered. From the circumstance of Eliot's giving lectures in his wigwam in 1646, it may be presumed, that then, if not before, he was favorably disposed towards the cause of the "praying Indians." Mr. Eliot relates an interesting case of discipline, which occurred in this man's family. A son of the sachem, fifteen years old, had been guilty of drunkenness; he had also treated his parents with contumacy and disobedience. When instructed in the Catechism by Mr. Eliot, in repeating the fifth commandment, he would omit the word *mother*, and was very reluctant to say *honor thy father*. For this conduct he was admonished. He confessed the truth of what was alleged against him, but at the same time accused his father of treating him angrily, and compelling him to drink sack. He was severely rebuked by Eliot and Wilson* for his want of filial reverence, but without effect.

* Rev. John Wilson of Boston, who sometimes accompanied Mr. Eliot.

They were aware, however, that the son's accusations against his father were not groundless. On the next lecture day, therefore, they exhorted Cutshamakin to prepare the way for his son's reformation by confessing his own sins, of which, they knew, the number was neither few nor light. Being thus faithfully admonished, he honestly acknowledged and bitterly lamented his offences. This example had a good effect on all the Indians present, who then joined their endeavors with those of Eliot and Wilson to soften the son into a penitent state of feeling. At last the boy yielded, made the most humble confession, and, taking his father's hand, entreated his forgiveness. His humiliation overcame his parents so much, that they wept aloud; and the board on which the stern and passionate sachem stood was wet with his tears.*

In this anecdote, told with Eliot's characteristic simplicity, it is delightful to recognise the subduing spirit of love bursting forth in the bosom of the savage, like a beautiful wild-flower from the cleft of a rock; and we cannot fail to observe with pleasure the kind, judicious, and patient discipline, by which Eliot and his companions brought the heart of the

* Shepard's *Cleare Sun-shine of the Gospel, &c.*, p. 21.

rebellious young savage into the bonds of filial obedience and affection.

A remark, made by Cutshamakin on one occasion, shows a thoughtful and serious state of mind. He said, that before he knew the true God, he had been at ease and satisfied with himself; but, since that time, he had found his heart full of sin, more so than he had ever imagined it to be before; "and at this day," he continued, "my heart is but very little better than it was, and I am afraid it will be as bad again as it was before; therefore I sometimes wish I might die before I be so bad again."

Cutshamakin formed a true estimate of himself, when he distrusted his own reformation. His wild passions were never well tamed; and he was never a trustworthy man, or a hopeful convert. At a subsequent period, about the time of the settlement of Natick, hereafter to be mentioned, he protested strenuously against Mr. Eliot's proceeding to establish an Indian town. He was violent on the subject, and affirmed that all the sachems felt as he did. Eliot's manner of subduing this opposition bears honorable testimony to his invincible firmness and his strong good sense. He found that the Indians friendly to his undertaking were frightened by the sachem's violence, turned pale, and slunk away, leaving him to contest the matter alone. He saw the necessity

of prompt resolution. With calm courage he told Cutshamakin, that, as he was about God's work, he feared neither him nor the other sachems, and that, let them do what they would, he should go on with his undertaking. The spirit of the savage sunk before this determined firmness, as fierce animals are said sometimes to be subdued by looking at them with a stern and steady eye. This victory over the violence of the chief contributed not a little to strengthen the apostle's influence with the other Indians.

The matter did not rest here. When Eliot took leave of the meeting, Cutshamakin accompanied him a short distance, and unburdened his heart by stating honestly the ground of his opposition. He alleged that the "praying Indians" did not pay him tribute, as they used to do before they became such. He was alarmed, therefore, at the idea of losing his accustomed revenues, should such settlements be encouraged. Mr. Eliot, finding him now brought to reason, treated him very kindly He reminded the sachem, that this complaint was not a new one, and that, when he had heard it before, he had preached a discourse to inculcate upon the Indians their duty in this respect. Cutshamakin acknowledged that the teaching was good, but complained that the Indians would not do as they were taught;

they would not pay the tribute; and this, he affirmed, was the cause of that jealousy, with which all the sachems observed these new movements.

Eliot saw, that here was an evil not to be neglected. He consulted the magistrates, Mr. Cotton, and the elders in Boston, on the subject. Mr. Cotton's discourse at the next Thursday lecture in Boston was to be on a topic appropriate to the point. Eliot, being apprized of this, advised such of the Indians as understood English to attend the lecture. By what they heard on that occasion, and by what was told them otherwise, they were much troubled to find themselves accused of refusing to pay the just tribute to their sachem. They declared the accusation to be false, and specified to Mr. Eliot all the particulars of service and of gifts, which they had contributed to Cutshamakin's revenue, such as twenty bushels of corn at one time, six at another, several days spent in hunting for him, fifteen deer killed for him, breaking two acres of land, building a large wigwam for him, &c. All these Mr. Eliot set down in writing; and, though they were contributed but by a few, he found to his surprise that they amounted to nearly thirty pounds. He now saw, that the sachem's complaint was groundless, and that the real source of his resentment was in the

diminution of that despotic power, which he once exercised over his subjects, and by which he could dispose of their lives and goods at pleasure. He still received a just and reasonable tribute; but the authority to exact whatever he might choose was questioned, and he was sometimes freely admonished of the faults of his government.

Mr. Eliot had now the difficult task of convincing Cutshamakin of the injustice of his complaints. At the next meeting of the Indians he took with him an elder by the name of Heath. They found the sachem sullen with resentment, and turning on them very sour looks. Of this they took no notice, and Mr. Eliot proceeded to preach as usual. He took for his subject the account of the temptation in the fourth chapter of Matthew. When he came to the explanation of the eighth and ninth verses, he applied it to Cutshamakin's case, told him that he was guilty of wicked ambition and lust of power, that a temptation from Satan was upon him, soliciting him to give up praying to God, that is, being a Christian, for the sake of recovering the greatness of his former arbitrary dominion. The preacher exhorted him to reject the temptation, warning him that otherwise God would reject him. The appeal was not lost on the sachem. After the discourse, Mr. Eliot and the elder had

"much conference" with him. At length he appeared satisfied, and returned to a fair and orderly course of conduct.* But he was always an unsafe man, veering about with every gust of passion, violent equally in his offences and his repentance.

Mr. Eliot's conduct on this occasion is certainly worthy of all praise, both for the immovable firmness with which he repulsed the turbulent onset of the sachem, and for the patient justice with which he afterwards investigated the case, and brought the difficulty to an equitable conclusion.

At one of the meetings at Neponset, the Indians with great anxiety inquired, whether it were possible for any of them to go to heaven, "seeing they found their hearts so full of sin." This gave their preacher an opportunity to open the whole subject to them, and to show them how they might hope for the pardon of sin through the Savior.

The only dependence of the Indians in case of illness was on the miserable operations of their powaws; and they naturally shrunk from the thought of losing what they supposed their

* See Eliot's letter in WHITFIELD's *Farther Discovery of the Present State of the Indians*, p. 39. — The above account, though out of place as to the time, I have inserted here as belonging to the history of this sachem. In this case the chronological order is of little importance.

sole protection against fatal disease. Eliot, with his usual good sense, saw that the only way to remove this fear was to have them instructed in the use of proper medical remedies. He himself had endeavored to give them some general notions of anatomy and physic, but with little success. In this connexion, he expresses his earnest wish, that their friends in England might be induced to furnish maintenance for some persons, who might give them medical and anatomical instruction. By these means, he thought, while important benefits would be conferred on the natives, some advantage might also be expected for the healing art; since, by the help of the Indians and of the colonists, many new plants, valuable for their medicinal efficacy, might perhaps be discovered, to enrich the pharmacopœia of medical science.*

Another difficulty occurred. The Indians who opposed Christianity would ask the converts tauntingly; "What do you get by praying to God and believing in Jesus Christ? You are as poor as we, your clothes and your corn

* Cleare Sun-shine, &c., p. 26. — It may be worth recording, as a fact in the history of anatomical studies among us, that, according to Eliot's statement, there had been at that time (1647) but one skeleton in the country, upon which, he says, a Mr. Giles Firman had read some good lectures.

are no better than ours, and meanwhile we take more pleasure than you do. If we could see that you gain any thing by being Christians, we would be so too." This reminds us of the scoffing question of the irreligious in ancient times; "What profit should we have, if we pray unto him?"* What should they say to such persons? Mr. Eliot's answer to the inquiry was very happily conceived.

He told them, that there are two sorts of blessings; the little ones, which he illustrated by holding up his little finger, and the great ones, which he signified by extending his thumb, for they delighted in such symbolical explanations. "The little mercies," he continued, "are riches, good clothes, houses, pleasant food, &c.; the great ones are wisdom, the knowledge of God and Christ, of truth and eternal life. Now, though God may not give you any large measure of the little blessings, he gives you what is much better, the great blessings; and these are things which those wicked Indians do not see or understand." Their teacher, however, let them know that godliness has a reward even in the things of this life; "for," said he, "in proportion as you become wiser and better Christians, you will be more industrious and orderly, and then you will have better

* Job xxi. 15.

clothes, more comfortable houses, and other improvements." Thus skilfully and patiently did the good evangelist accommodate his instructions to their conceptions and difficulties.

About this time, a question of casuistry was proposed by some of the natives, which perplexed their teacher not a little. They had been, it seems, exceedingly addicted to gaming, a passion for which is generally one of the strongest in the breast of savage as well as civilized man. Those of them who received Mr. Eliot's instructions were convinced of the unlawfulness of this practice. Their query then was, whether they were bound to pay the debts they had formerly incurred by gaming; for these debts were demanded by such as were not "praying Indians." Mr. Eliot saw that the case was embarrassing, and that, as he says, "there was a snare underneath." On the one hand, he would not say any thing which they could so construe as to countenance the sin of gaming; on the other, he would not teach them to violate their promises.

In this dilemma, he first advised them, when such debts were claimed, to refer the case to the governor of the colony, presuming that measures might be taken by him to settle the matter to the satisfaction of both parties. But this proposal was not relished. He then took

another course. First, he talked with the creditor, urged on him the sinfulness of the gamester's practices, and told him, that, having been guilty in this respect, he ought to be willing to give up half of his claim, to which it is rather remarkable that he cheerfully consented. He then talked with the debtor, reminding him that, though he had sinned in gaming, and must heartily repent of that transgression, yet, as he had promised payment, and as God requires us to perform our promises, it would be a sin to violate his obligation. He then proposed to the debtor, that he should pay one half of the debt, to which he gave a very willing assent. With this compromise, the one surrendering half, and the other agreeing to pay half, both parties were satisfied.

This mode of settling the difficulty came to be the established rule of justice in such cases.* It may be doubted whether Mr. Eliot's decision would receive the approbation of every casuist; but its effect on such minds as he had to deal with was unquestionably salutary.

While these efforts were in progress at Nonantum and Neponset, the attention of our Indian evangelist was called to another quarter. The doings at the former place had been reported among the Indians, and had excited a

* Cleare Sun-shine of the Gospel, pp. 26–28.

good deal of interest. Tahattawan, a sachem at Concord, with some of his people, went to Nonantum and heard Mr. Eliot preach. Whether he received any religious impressions at this time, we know not; but we learn that he was smitten with a desire to rise above the wild courses of savage life, and to imitate English habits. Having learned that this project was secretly opposed by many of his people, he summoned his chief men around him, and assured them that what the English were doing was for their good. "For," said he, "what have you gained, while you have lived under the power of the higher sachems, after the Indian fashion? They only sought to get what they could from you, and exacted at their pleasure your kettles, your skins, and your wampum. But the English, you see, do no such things; they seek only your welfare, and, instead of taking from you, they give to you." *

The effect of the sachem's speech was to draw his people to his way of thinking. The result appeared in a body of twenty-nine "conclusions and orders," which were established as rules of government and behavior. Some of these regulations related to moral points, forbidding drunkenness, lying, theft, powawing, and adultery, and enjoining humility,

* Ibid., p. 2.

peaceful living, improvement of time, observance of the Sabbath, &c.; others were designed to promote neatness, order, and mutual respect in their daily conduct. Shepard, who gives a list of all these rules, says that they were generally well observed; and that most of the Indians set up morning and evening prayer in their families.

In drawing up these regulations, they had the assistance of the wisest Indians at Nonantum, and probably, through them, of Mr. Eliot They requested Captain Willard of Concord to put them in writing, and to act as their recorder. They also desired the apostle to visit and preach to them, and wished to have a town granted to them near the English, that by the neighborhood they might keep up a love for religious instruction and for the word of God. Such an opportunity for usefulness in his own beloved way Mr. Eliot of course would rejoice to improve. He visited the Concord Indians as often as his pressing duties would permit. He met their wants, and answered their inquiries, with his usual winning affection and good judgment. Land was granted them for a town according to their request; * but strong oppo-

* So says Shepard in his *Cleare Sun-shine, &c.*, p. 3. But Mr. Shattuck doubts whether there was, as has often been stated, any definite grant of land to the Indians, either at Concord or Nonantum. He thinks "they lived by suffer-

sition from some of the natives prevented the settlement at that time.

A few years afterwards, by the mediation of Eliot, the object was accomplished. An Indian town called Nashobah, a name given to a territory lying partly in Littleton and partly in Acton, was constituted. They had the institutions of Christian worship, and an Indian teacher, probably one prepared by our evangelist.* The desire of enjoying some of those comforts of life, of which they saw the English in possession, seems to have led the natives at Concord to take the first step towards embracing Christianity.

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ance on lands claimed by the English, prior to their gathering at Natick." — *History of Concord*, p. 24.

* In addition to 3 M. H. Coll., IV. 38 – 41, see SHATTUCK's *History of Concord*, pp. 20 – 27, and EMERSON's *Historical Discourse*, *Sept. 12th*, 1835, pp. 18 – 20. Mr. Shattuck (p. 26) has given a copy of Eliot's petition to the General Court in behalf of the Indians, who were disturbed in the places where they settled.

CHAPTER VI.

Visit of Shepard and Others to Nonantum. — A Court established for the "Praying Indians." — Their Appearance before a Synod. — Their Questions. — Their Observance of the Sabbath. — Funeral of a Child.

The Indian work was regarded with deep interest by other clergymen, as well as by Eliot, though on him the main responsibleness and the chief labor always rested. On the 3d of March, 1647, Mr. Shepard of Cambridge, Mr. Wilson of Boston, Mr. Allen of Dedham, and Mr. Dunster, president of Harvard College, accompanied by others, attended the lecture at Nonantum.

Of this visit Shepard has left a brief account. The women seem to have been objects of more attention than at any time before. It was considered improper for them to propound questions publicly themselves. They were therefore requested to communicate their inquiries to their husbands, or to the interpreter privately, who would propose them before the assembly. Two questions were accordingly stated, the first that were ever propounded from their women in this public way. One was

suggested by the wife of Wampas, who has been before mentioned. "When my husband prays," said she, "if I say nothing, and yet my heart goes along with what he says, do I pray?" This inquiry indicates that doubtful tendency towards the true idea of devotion, which belongs to a mind just awakened to spiritual thought, but ignorant of spiritual relations She was of course instructed, that prayer, being an act of the heart, is true and efficient, whether words be uttered or not.

Mr. Eliot mentions this woman with great interest, in a letter written more than a year after this meeting. She was one of those at the Nonantum establishment, who had learned to spin and was remarkable for her industry and good management of her children. She was attacked with an illness, in which she suffered much and which proved fatal. When Mr. Eliot visited her, and prayed with her, she told him, that "she still loved God, though he made her sick, and was resolved to pray to him so long as she lived;" that "she was willing to die, and believed she should go to heaven and live happy with God and Christ there." She was the first adult that had died among the Indians since Eliot began his mission.*

* Winslow's *Glorious Progresse of the Gospel, &c.* pp. 6, 7.

Another woman put what she had to say into the form of a statement, rather than a query. This she did, according to Shepard, from motives of kindness to her husband. "Before my husband prayed," said she, "he was very angry and froward; but, since he began to pray, he has not been so much angry, but only a little." She meant, as was supposed, to imply the question, whether a husband could with a good conscience pray with his wife, and yet continue to indulge his irascible passions. But by the form in which she expressed her suggestion, Mr. Shepard thought that she gave her husband a creditable testimony for the degree in which he had overcome his habit of anger, and at the same time conveyed a gentle admonition of the need of further reformation.* It may be doubted whether the good divine did not see more refinement in the case, than the truth of the matter would warrant.

On the 26th of May, 1647, the General Court manifested a regard to the welfare of the natives, by passing an order for the establishment of a judiciary among them, adapted to their condition and wants. They had expressed to Mr. Eliot a desire to have "a course of ordinary judicature." It was ordered that one or more of the magistrates of the colony should, once every quarter, hold a court at

* Cleare Sun-shine. &c., p. 7.

some place where the Indians usually assembled for religious purposes. It was the duty of this court to hear and determine all civil and criminal causes, not being capital, which concerned the Indians only. The sachems were empowered to issue orders or a summons to bring any of their people before this tribunal. They were also permitted to hold inferior courts themselves every month, if there should be occasion, to determine civil causes of a less important nature, and such smaller criminal causes, as might be referred to them by the magistrates. The sachems were to appoint officers to serve warrants, and execute the orders and judgments of the courts. All fines were to be appropriated to the building of places of worship, or the education of children, or to some other such public use as Mr Eliot and other elders might recommend. It was also requested of the magistrates and of Mr. Eliot, that they would endeavor to make the natives understand the laws by explaining the principles of reason and equity on which they were founded, and that they would provide for the observance of the Lord's day among the Indians.* These seem to have been wise arrangements, and to imply no small confidence in the integrity and good judgment of the natives.

* Ibid., p. 15.

On the 8th of June, 1647, a synod of the churches met by adjournment at Cambridge. This was thought to be a favorable occasion to call the attention of the leading men in ecclesiastical affairs to the labors of Mr. Eliot, and to give the messengers of the churches an opportunity of judging, by personal observation, of the reports they had heard concerning the good work. The "praying Indians" were encouraged to attend the meeting; and there was, we are told, "a great confluence of them." In the afternoon of the second day of the session, Mr. Eliot preached to them in their own language from Ephesians ii. 1, and dwelt upon the truths appropriate to their condition, suggested by that passage.

After the lecture, the usual exercise of questions and answers took place in presence of the ministers and elders. The only questions by the Indians on that occasion, left on record, are the following;

"What countryman was Christ, and where was he born?

"How far off is that place from us here?

"Where is Christ now?

"How and where may we lay hold on him, as he is now absent from us?"

These inquiries, though relating to points of great importance, are certainly not so striking and significant, as some which were proposed

on other occasions. What we know of the Indian character will hardly allow us to suppose, that they were overawed by the solemn assembly of the clergy and elders; but their attention might have been so distracted by the novelty of the scene, that they could not lay open their minds with so much natural freedom, as at more private meetings. Full answers were given to their questions. They are described as having been profoundly attentive to Mr. Eliot's preaching, and much moved by it. Many of their children were present, who in an interesting manner answered the principal questions of the Catechism, in which they had been instructed. The whole scene must have been singularly impressive. One can imagine, that the pencil of the painter might sketch with good effect this assembly of the grave fathers of the churches, surrounded by the red men of the woods, and their little ones, as objects of that high interest, which belongs to the spiritual relations of man with man.*

In the latter part of the summer of 1647, Mr. Shepard speaks of having again visited the scene of Eliot's exertions, probably at Nonantum. He was agreeably surprised to find

* Shepard furnishes us with an account of this meeting, *Cleare Sun-shine*, &c., p. 11. Winthrop also mentions it, I. 308.

many of the men, women, and children clad in good clothes, after the fashion of their civilized neighbors. These they had received from their friends among the English, who attended the lectures. A report is given of some of the Indian questions in the course of Eliot's instructions during the subsequent winter, from notes taken by a Mr. Jackson of Cambridge, who was present at the meetings; but the answers are not recorded.

Among the difficulties, of which they sought a solution from their teacher, were the following. "Whether the Devil or man was made first?" One cannot but feel a curiosity to know what train of thought suggested this inquiry. "How may one know wicked men,—who are good and who are bad?" A question which has puzzled wiser heads and more practised observers, than these untaught men of the wilderness. "If a man should be enclosed in iron a foot thick, and thrown into the fire, what would become of his soul? Could the soul come forth thence or not?" This is a good illustration of the difficulty, which the rude mind finds in conceiving the nature of a spiritual existence, even when it has some apprehension of a spiritual agency. It is at least as important a question, as many of those on which minute philosophers have disputed long and angrily. "Why did not God give all men

good hearts, that they might be good? And why did not God kill the Devil, that made all men so bad, God having all power?" Here struggles forth, in a crude form, from the laboring breast of the savage, the same thorny perplexity concerning the existence and origin of evil, which has been discussed from the earliest to the latest of the philosophers, who have speculated on the being and destination of man. It would be gratifying to know in what manner Mr. Eliot met such inquiries as these. Other questions of much interest were proposed; as, "how they should know when their faith was good, and when their prayers were good prayers."

These questions, says Shepard, were accounted by some "as part of the whitenings of the harvest." The Indians likewise manifested some anxiety about the causes of natural phenomena, and started inquiries concerning the sun, moon, stars, earth, sea, lightning, and earthquakes.*

About this time we find the first instance of a disrespectful question addressed to Eliot. A drunken Indian, known by the name of George, being in a condition to feel more interest in the origin of his beloved liquor than in the origin of any thing else, called out impu-

* Cleare Sun-shine, &c., pp. 13, 14.

dently, "Who made sack, Mr. Eliot, who made sack?" For this the other Indians rebuked him, and termed it a *papoose* question, that is, a child'sh question. The preacher spoke to him with so much gravity and wisdom, that his insolence was overawed into decency. Mr. Eliot relates, that this same fellow, having killed a cow in Cambridge, sold it at the College for a moose. For this he was subjected to admonition at one of the Indian meetings. But he had contrived to cover his fraud with so many dexterous lies, that Mr. Dunster, president of the College, was reluctant to have him directly accused of it, and thought a further inquiry should be made. However, he was called before the assembly, and charged with his fault so powerfully, that he could not deny it, but made an ample confession.* The president of the College, and grave divines, sitting in judgment on the trick of an Indian blackguard, exhibit an amusing picture to our imaginations at the present day, though doubtless the discipline was necessary and salutary.

Mr. Eliot tell us, that the "praying Indians" were strict in their observance of the Sabbath. As the care of his own church would not allow him to be with them often on that day, they were in some perplexity; for, they said, if they

* Eliot's letter in *Cleare Sun-shine*, &c., p. 23.

should go to the English meetings, they should understand nothing, or so little, that it would be useless. He advised them, as the only feasible measure, to meet among themselves, and request the best and wisest of their number to pray with them, and teach them such things as they had learned through him from the divine word.

Some instances related by Eliot, show their strong conviction of the impropriety of violating the Lord's day by common employments. The wife of Cutshamakin once went to fetch water on the Sabbath, and talked with other women by the way "on worldly matters," as the account states. This came to the ears of Nabanton, who was to be the teacher that day. Nabanton preached on the sanctification of the Sabbath, and at the close rebuked the misconduct of which he had heard in the morning. The wife of Cutshamakin, not dashed by this personal application of the subject, shrewdly and probably with truth told him after the sermon, that he had done more harm by making so much talk about the matter in the public assembly, than she had by fetching the water This brought on a discussion, and they concluded to refer the case to Mr. Eliot. To his house in Roxbury they went the next day, and laid the matter before him. What decision he pronounced, he does not definitely say. He

only remarks, that he gave them such directions as were agreeable to the word of God.

Another instance occurred at the wigwam of no less a man than Waban. On a Sunday two Indians arrived there towards night, and told him, that about a mile off they had chased a racoon into the hollow of a tree. They wanted help to fell the tree, and take the animal. It seems that Waban, who, like the Indians generally, was "given to hospitality," thought the racoon would furnish a good meal for his stranger guests. So he sent two of his men, who felled the tree and caught the animal. The rest of the Christian Indians were offended with this conduct, as a violation of the Sabbath not to be overlooked. The subject was kept for discussion at the next lecture, when the questions to which it gave rise were answered by Eliot.

A third case is mentioned, in which a vigilance was exercised, that must have been satisfactory even to the framers of the Connecticut Blue Laws. On a certain Sabbath, the public meeting was held long and late. One of the Indians, on returning to his wigwam, found the fire almost gone out. He took his hatchet, as he sat by the fireside, and split a small piece of dry wood, which was kept for kindling, and so lighted up his fire. This was deemed a trespass by the Indians who took

notice of it; and at the next lecture the matter was brought before the assembly for further investigation.*

These instances may serve to show how they were led to regard the Sabbath. It might be supposed, that, to men accustomed to the wildest freedom of life at all times, such restraints must have been irksome. Yet, if we may judge from a curious expression of their feelings on one occasion, they did not consider the sacrifice of their liberty in this respect as annoying or troublesome. When Cutshamakin and others entered into a treaty with their English neighbors in 1643, they were asked whether they would agree "not to do any unnecessary work on the Sabbath day, especially within the gates of Christian towns." They gave a ready assent, replying with amusing *naïveté*, that "it would be easy to them, that they had not much to do on any day, and could well enough take their rest on that day." †

Another anecdote related by Eliot illustrates his mode of administering admonition and censure. Wampas on some trivial occasion, in a fit of passion, beat his wife. This brutal treatment of their females had formerly been, as is usual among savage tribes, very common, and

* Eliot's letter in *Cleare Sun-shine, &c.*, pp. 19, 20.

† Gookin's *MS. Hist. Account of the Christian Indians.*

passed without notice. But since they had received Christianity, they had learned to consider it as a great offence, and the transgressor in such cases was exposed to a fine. Wampas was made to stand up, and answer for his fault before the public meeting, which happened to be uncommonly large, being attended by the Governor and many others of the English. The Indian made an humble confession of his crime, took the blame wholly to himself, and attempted no palliation. When Mr. Eliot set before him, in its true light, the sin of beating his wife and indulging his violent passions, he turned his face to the wall and wept. All were disposed to forgive him; but his fine was strictly exacted, which he cheerfully paid.

Particulars like these are valuable for the light they throw on the Indian character, as it was sometimes affected by the instructions of a teacher, who, while like all others of his day he pressed some points with too much rigor, still always aimed, and for the most part wisely, at the true improvement, the real good, of his rude disciples.

About this time an Indian, who was reputed to be a powaw, asked Mr. Eliot how it happened, that, as the English had been in the country a considerable time, some of them no less than twenty-seven years, they had so long neglected to instruct the natives in the knowl-

edge of God, and why they had not sooner imparted what they professed to consider so important. "Had you done it sooner," said he, "we might have known much of God by this time, and much sin might have been prevented; but now some of us are grown old in sin." Whatever of rebuke there was in these questions and remarks, Mr. Eliot received with submissive acknowledgment of the fault. He assured the Indian, that the English sincerely repented of their neglect in this matter. But he added, that the natives had never till now been willing to hear religious teaching, and profit by it. Had the experiment been before made in any such manner, as to justify this last assertion?

Some of the Indians, with the interest natural to the parental feelings, were anxious to know what would become of their children after death, since they had not sinned. Mr. Eliot's theology led him, on this occasion, to expound to his wild hearers, who at best were "in the gristle and not hardened into the bone" of Christianity, the mysteries of original sin, and to assure them, that, when God elects the father or mother to be his servant, he elects the children also. This doctrine, he says, "was exceeding grateful unto them." Might not their good teacher have better used the simple and touching illustrations taken from

the paternal character of God, which on some other occasions he applied with much beauty and power?

The natives had learned from their new religion to renounce polygamy. But this change in their habits gave occasion to a difficulty, which they stated in the following way. Suppose an Indian, before he knew God, had been the husband of two wives, one of whom had been barren, and the other had borne children; which of the two wives should he discard? If the first, then he would apparently violate the solemn obligation belonging to her prior matrimonial claim, solely because she happened to have no children. If the second, then, together with her whom he dearly loved, he must renounce her children, and make them illegitimate. Men, who could reason thus, were not wanting in clearness of discernment, or in fine feeling. To Eliot and Shepard the inquiry was so embarrassing, that they declined giving a reply, till they had consulted with some of their brethren. We are not informed what answer was finally returned; but doubtless some rule of action was established for such cases.

At one of the Nonantum lectures, an old squaw asked, "If God loves those who turn to him, how comes it to pass that men are any more afflicted after they turn to God?" Here

was exhibited that notion of an obligation on the part of the Deity to reward his worshippers with good things, which is generally found in the rude developements of the religious sentiment, accompanied with but little, if any, apprehension of the nature of a state of discipline and probation.

At another time Wampas, who is said to have been "sober and hopeful," instead of proposing a question, made the following statement of a difficulty, under which the converts to Christianity were suffering; "On the one hand, the other Indians hate and oppose us, because we pray to God; on the other, the English will not put confidence in us, and suspect, that we do not really pray. But," he added with an affecting consciousness of honesty, "God, who knows all things, knows that we do pray to him." To this Mr. Eliot replied, that it was true some of the English for various reasons had suspicions as to the reality of their religion; "but," said he, "I and others, who are in the habit of seeing and conversing with you, have no such suspicions." He then spoke encouraging words, and exhorted them to be faithful, true, and persevering.

When Mr. Eliot had preached, at one of the Nonantum lectures, from Ephesians v. 11, one of his hearers, by a very natural application of the text, inquired what the English thought of

him for coming among the wicked Indians to teach them. Another query was, Suppose two men sin, of whom one knows that he sins, and the other does not know it; will God punish both alike? He who put this question had some better conceptions of moral equity in the divine government, than is often found in the savage breast. Again, another inquired, whether a wise Indian, who teaches other Indians in the ways of God, should not be as a father or a brother to those whom he so teaches. There is in this question a fine moral meaning, in accordance with one of the most beautiful declarations of our Savior, and worthy of the religious philosophy of the enlightened Christian.

An affecting scene occurred at Nonantum in October, 1647. An Indian child had been for a long time ill with a consumption, and at length died. Some of the natives went to the English to learn their manner of burying their children. Having received the desired information, they rejected all their own customary observances on such an occasion, procured a few boards and nails, made a neat coffin, and about forty of them in a solemn manner accompanied the body of the little one to its resting-place in the dust. They then withdrew a short distance to the shade of a large tree, and requested one of their number to pray with them. Their devotional exercise, which

lasted nearly half an hour, was extremely fervent, and accompanied with many tears. The Englishman, who observed these proceedings at a distance, and reported them, said that "the woods rang again with their sighs and prayers." *

* Cleare Sun-shine, &c., pp. 34 – 37.

CHAPTER VII.

Eliot's Visits to Passaconaway at Pautucket. — Kindness experienced by Him from the Nashaway Sachem, and his Exposure and Suffering. — His Agency with Regard to Murders committed among the Indians. — Excursion to Yarmouth.

Hitherto the exertions of the Apostle to the Indians had not taken him far from his home. By these he had gained such acquaintance with the character, habits, and minds of the natives, as enabled him to proceed in his work with renewed confidence. He now began to extend the sphere of his pious duties to more distant places. Wherever there was a call to do good, by bringing the truths of the Gospel to bear on the barbarism and ignorance of the wilderness, he was happy to go, and ready to spend and be spent.

Near Merrimac River at Pautucket he found opportunities of intercourse with Passaconaway, an Indian ruler of much celebrity. This man is supposed to have been a *bashaba*, that is, a greater sachem, to whom inferior sachems acknowledged subjection.* His dominion was

* Drake's *Book of the Indians*, B. III. ch. 7.

of large extent, and his power great. The English had become acquainted with him on various occasions, and his name often occurs in the history of the times. He is said to have lived to a great age. Gookin remarks; "I saw him alive at Pautucket when he was about a hundred and twenty years old," * but does not tell us how he ascertained his age. He probably had no satisfactory means of information Eliot merely calls him "old" when he saw him

Not long before his death, this chief made a speech to his children and friends, in which he advised them never to quarrel with the English. "For," said he, "though you may doubtless have it in your power to do them much harm, yet, if you do, they will surely destroy you, and root you out of the land. I was once as much an enemy to them, as any one can be. I did what I could to prevent their settlement, or bring them to destruction; but it was all in vain I therefore counsel you never to contend or make war with them." There is a tone either of the piteous despair attending the consciousness of a hopeless struggle, or of the more refined sentiment of willing submission to the superiority of the white man, in the feeling, which thus burst from the soul of the old chief, as he was about to close his eyes in death. He

* Historical Account of the Christian Indians.

had the reputation of being a great sorcerer, or powaw; and his subjects believed, that he could make a green leaf grow in winter, put the trees into a dance, and set water on fire.

Some time in 1647, or perhaps in the preceding year, Mr. Eliot, in company with Captain Willard of Concord and others, travelled as far as the Merrimac. At that time Passaconaway would not see them, and fled with his sons, pretending that he was afraid of being killed. This conduct in a powerful Indian chief seems inexplicable. That he really feared one who came, as Shepard says, "only with a book in his hand, and a few others without any weapons to bear him company," is hardly to be supposed. Many of his men remained, and listened to what the preacher had to say. Eliot was accompanied by some Christian Indians from his own neighborhood. These were of much service on the present occasion, by praying in the wigwams and conversing about "the things of God."

In the spring of 1648, Mr. Eliot again visited Pautucket. At that season of the year, there was annually a great confluence of Indians at this spot, which was a famous fishing-place. These gatherings reminded Eliot of the fairs in England, which he thought they resembled. He found them fit occasions for the good purposes he had in view, because they furnished

him with large audiences, that came from various quarters. It must have required all his zeal, firmness, and prudence, to remain day after day among this savage multitude, and wait his opportunities of instruction amidst their wild festivity. Already his influence there had been such, that many of the Indians had exchanged the gaming and other evil practices of those seasons, for religious instruction and good conversation. On the present occasion Passaconaway did not, as before, betake himself to flight at the apostle's approach. He was willing to stay and listen. Eliot preached from Malachi i. 11, of which passage, — I suppose that he might make it more intelligible and striking to his hearers, — he gave the following version; "From the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, thy name shall be great among the Indians; and in every place prayers shall be made to thy name, pure prayers, for thy name shall be great among the Indians."

After the preaching they proposed questions. One of them inquired, whether all the Indians, who had died hitherto, had gone to hell, and only a few now at last were put in the way for going to heaven. To this natural and fair question Mr. Eliot has not recorded his reply He merely remarks, that the doctrine of a twofold future state was always one of the first

points in his preaching, and that it was readily embraced by the natives; for they had already some traditional notions of another life and its retributions. After some time, old Passaconaway himself spoke. He said he had never yet prayed to God, for he had never before heard such instructions concerning God. But he declared his belief in the truth of what had just been taught, and his determination for the future to pray to God, and to persuade his sons to follow his example. Two of them were present, who assented to their father's purpose. The conversion of the old chief may seem to have been too sudden to be lasting. But Mr. Eliot had reason to think, that it was not a vanishing impulse of the moment, because afterwards this sachem told Captain Willard, who was in the habit of trading in those quarters for beaver and otter skins, that he wished him and the apostle to fix their abode in his neighborhood, in order that his people might enjoy religious instruction. He likewise offered to allow them their choice of the best of his lands for that purpose. It was the uniform and judicious endeavor of Mr. Eliot to prevail on the chief sachems to receive Christianity, that, having the support of those who were as princes among the barbarians, he might more effectually encourage the timid, and repress the insolence of the scorners. In this way Passa-

conaway's conversion was likely to be of much service to the cause.*

In this connexion our painstaking evangelist speaks of the difficulty, which the missionary to the Indians must experience from their squalid poverty and barbarous habits of living. He who went among them might not expect to find food and drink, of which he could partake These he must take with him, and other things besides for presents. "I never go unto them empty," says Eliot, "but carry somewhat to distribute among them." He also invited them to his house, where he always had refreshments and gifts for them. Nor did they omit such humble expressions of kind feeling towards their good teacher, as were in their power He relates with pleasant simplicity, that once, as he was taking his horse to depart, "a poor creature" seized his hand and thrust something into it, which he found to be a pennyworth of wampum on the end of a straw. He accepted the humble present with thanks, "seeing so much hearty affection in so small a thing," and requested the Indian to visit him at his house.

The next year Mr. Eliot was personally invited by Passaconaway, with earnest importunity, to live among his people, and be their

* Shepard's *Cleare Sun-shine, &c.*, p. 32. Winslow's *Glorious Progresse of the Gospel*, p. 9.

teacher. The sachem thought that his visits once a year did but little good, because in the long intervals his people were apt to forget what they had heard. Many of them, he said, were naught, and required long and patient teaching. He illustrated his meaning by a comparison not inaptly stated. "You do," said he, "as if one should come and throw a fine thing among us, and we should catch at it earnestly, because it appears so beautiful, but cannot look at it to see what is within; there may be in it something or nothing, a stock, a stone, or a precious treasure; but if it be opened, and we see what is valuable therein, then we think much of it. So you tell us of religion, and we like it very well at first sight, but we know not what is within; it may be excellent, or it may be nothing, we cannot tell; but if you will stay with us, and open it to us, and show us all within, we shall believe it to be as good as you say it is."

These "elegant arguments," as Eliot calls them, he applied with much wisdom and affection. He was doubtless sincere and in earnest, and he probably continued strongly attached to his new religion. The appropriate comparison which he used on this occasion, it may be remarked, more resembles the style of speaking among a civilized people, than those bold, abrupt, and violent figures, which are commonly

considered as characteristic of Indian eloquence. His speech was that of a reasonable man, and could not fail to arrest attention. It had been for some time a favorite project with Mr. Eliot to establish an Indian town, which might form a sort of central point for the Christian natives; and his heart yearned towards Passaconaway's earnest proposal.

But there were weighty objections, as he thought, to the plan of fixing his town in that region. The Indians in his own vicinity, on whom he must principally rely as the best materials for the nucleus of such a settlement, were unwilling to remove thither; though they said they would, if necessary, go to any place with him. This affecting expression of their confidence made him more reluctant to cross their inclinations; and, as he cherished the hope that he should need more than one town he probably thought the time would come, when Passaconaway's wish for a settlement in his domains might be gratified.*

Before this time, Mr. Eliot had visited Nashaway, now called Lancaster; but I find no particular account of his doings there. We know, however, that the sachem was much interested in his favor; and he alludes to his having preached at the place. There was an old sa

* WHITFIELD'S *Farther Discovery of the Present State of the Indians, &c.*, p. 20.

chem at Quabagud or Quaboag, now Brookfield, a place which Eliot describes as "three score miles westward" (that is, from his residence in Roxbury), who earnestly wished to prevail upon him to visit his people, and even to make his abode there. He undertook a journey thither, and went by the way of Nashaway. There had been some disturbances between the Narraganset and Mohegan Indians, and several had been murdered in or about the region, which he proposed to visit. This circumstance threw some doubt on the minds of the Roxbury church, whether it might be safe for their pastor to venture thither.

When the Nashaway sachem heard of this, he commanded twenty of his men to take arms and be ready to protect the missionary, and added himself to the number. Besides this force, several of the Indians in Eliot's neighborhood, and some of his English friends, attended him as a guard. He was much gratified by the promptness of the natives in protecting him from harm, because he regarded it as a proof of their interest, not in himself only, but in his work. When he arrived at the place of his destination, he found "sundry hungry after instruction"; but of the particulars of his ministration we have no account.

The journey proved exceedingly wearisome and exhausting. It may serve to give us an

idea of the toil and suffering, which this devoted evangelist sometimes incurred in the course of his labors. The company were exposed to continual rains and bad weather, with no protection. They were drenched with wet; and Eliot says, that from Tuesday to Saturday he was never dry, night or day. At night he would pull off his boots, wring the water from his stockings, and put them on again. The rivers were swollen by the rains; and, as they made their way through them on horseback, they were still more wet. Eliot's horse failed from exhaustion, and he was obliged to let him go without a rider, and take one belonging to another person. But he says, with his usual piety of feeling, "God stept in and helped; I considered that word of God, *Endure hardness as a good soldier of Christ.*" From this fatiguing and perilous excursion the company returned home in safety and health.*

In the proceedings, which took place in consequence of the murders above mentioned, Mr Eliot had some agency, of which it is proper to take notice. The murdered Indians were supposed to be among those, who were under the jurisdiction and protection of the Massachusetts government. Acting on this belief, the Governor and magistrates sent twenty men

* Eliot's letter to Winslow in *Farther Discovery*, &c., p 21.

to Nashaway to ascertain the facts of the case and, if possible, to arrest the murderers. But the criminals had escaped to Narraganset; and the men sent by the Massachusetts government on their return, could only report, that the crime had been perpetrated, and that it was well understood who were concerned in it. Afterwards the sachem Cutshamakin procured two Indians, who offered to apprehend the murderers. The reason why this sachem interposed in the affair was, that three of the murdered men belonged to a party at Quaboag, with whom he was in a treaty of friendship, and whom, indeed, he considered somewhat in the light of subjects. The magistrates accepted the offer of the two Indians, gave them a commission, and wrote to Mr. Pynchon of Springfield to assist them in the search.

But Pynchon's reply put a stop to the proceedings. He maintained, that the murdered Indians were not the subjects, nor the murderers within the jurisdiction, of the Massachusetts government, and that by prosecuting the matter they would be in danger of stirring up a war. It is in this letter of Pynchon, that the mention of Mr. Eliot's agency occurs. It seems that Cutshamakin, who of course was well acquainted with Mr. Eliot, had prevailed upon him to use his influence with the magistrates to procure the desired assistance. Pyn

chon says, that in this the Indians of Quaboag "dealt subtly." Eliot wrote a letter to Pynchon, in which he exhorted him to assist the two Indian agents in their inquest about the murder, urging the command of God to make inquisition for blood, and denying that there was any danger of war in consequence of this proceeding. Upon this Pynchon remarks, that if the murdered had been subjects of Massachusetts, and the murderers within the jurisdiction of that government, Mr. Eliot's appeal would have been seasonable and appropriate; but, the facts being otherwise, it was of no avail. Governor Winthrop desired, that Eliot might immediately be made acquainted with this letter of Pynchon. Dudley, the deputy-governor, had a conference with Eliot on the subject; and they concluded, for various reasons, to advise that a stop should be put to any further proceedings.*

Mr. Eliot may have been in an error, as to the point of jurisdiction; but his active share in this transaction unquestionably arose from his strong desire to have such justice administered for the crime of shedding blood, as would conciliate the feelings of the Indians by convincing them, that in the English they had

* SAVAGE'S *Winthrop*, Vol. II. p. 325, and Appendix, pp. 384–387.

friends, who would not see them injured with impunity.

It was in the latter part of 1647, or in 1648, that Mr. Eliot, with Wilson of Boston and Shepard of Cambridge, visited Yarmouth on Cape Cod. The harmony of the church in that place had been disturbed by some unhappy difficulties; and these clergymen with others from Plymouth colony met, I suppose as a council, to heal the breach, and bring into union the contending parties. This they accomplished most satisfactorily, and Christian harmony was restored to the church and town.

But Eliot did not consider his errand to this place as finished. The object, which was habitually uppermost in his thoughts, failed not to claim his attention. He gladly availed himself of the opportunity to visit the Indians in that region, and present to them the word of life. It was with difficulty that they understood him. The dialect of the Indians in that quarter was found to differ considerably from that of the natives in the neighborhood of Boston and in the western parts of Massachusetts. Varieties of this kind were often observed in a range of forty or sixty miles.* Besides, these

* One of the obstacles to the diffusion of Christianity among the natives of New England was "the diversity of their owne language to itself, every part of that countrey having its owne dialect, differing much from the other." *New England's First Fruits*, p. 1.

Indians were unaccustomed to those words and forms of speech used for the expression of religious thoughts or conceptions, to the acquisition of which Mr. Eliot had been led by the nature of his mission to give his principal attention. In order to make himself intelligible to them, he was obliged to use much circumlocution, and put his remarks into various forms, besides availing himself of the aid of interpreters who happened to be present. He overcame all difficulties, and made himself understood.

At this place there was no little opposition to Eliot's preaching, especially by a reckless sachem, to whom, on account of his fierce and furious spirit, the English gave the *sobriquet* of Jehu. He promised fairly enough, that on the appointed day he would attend the religious services, and bring his men with him. But, when the day came, he sent his men away early in the morning to sea, on the pretence, that they must get some fish. He himself went to hear the sermon, though late; but, when there, he affected not to understand any thing, though some of the Indians assured Mr. Eliot, that he did understand as well as any of them. Still he would sit and listen with dogged sullenness and a dissatisfied look. There was probably as much of waggery, as of ill nature or malice, n his conduct. There is something adapted to

excite a smile in the grave but unsuccessful attempt of the divines to manage this intractable and mischievous spirit.

There was another sachem of a better temper and more pliable disposition, who lent a willing ear to instruction, and whose people were attentive and docile. It was here, that, at the usual time for proposing questions, an aged Indian made a statement, which at first struck those who heard it with surprise, but was found to admit an easy explanation. He affirmed, that the very things which Mr. Eliot had just taught concerning the creation, the nature of God, and his commandments, had been said years ago by some old men among them, who were now dead, and since whose death all knowledge or remembrance of these doctrines had been lost, till they were revived by what they had now heard. In a more figurative manner, the same fact was expressed by others to a Christian in that region, who communicated it to Eliot and his companions at this time. They said that their forefathers once knew God, but that afterwards their people fell into a heavy sleep; and when they awoke, they had forgotten him.

These statements, implying that some knowledge of the true religion was possessed by the natives before their acquaintance with the English, excited curiosity and inquiry. Mr.

Shepard supposed, that the fact might be accounted for by the circumstance of a French preacher having been cast away on that coast many years before, whose instructions might have given the Indians of that day such an acquaintance with religion, as was reported of them.

Shepard was doubtless right in his conjecture. About three years before the Plymouth settlers arrived, a French ship was wrecked on Cape Cod. The lives of the men were saved, and they reached the shore. But they were all killed by the Indians, except three or four, who were kept and sent from one sachem to another. Two of them were redeemed by Mr. Dormer, and another died among the natives. One of them lived with the Indians long enough to be able to use their language. He instructed them in religion, and, among other things, told them, that God was angry for their wickedness, that he would destroy them, and give their country to another people. The natives replied in derision, that they were too numerous for God to kill them. Soon after the death of the Frenchman, multitudes of them were swept away by a terrible pestilence. They now began, with the superstition natural to savages, to think that one part of the prediction they had despised was fulfilled; and, when the Plymouth settlers came, they apprehended that

the other part was about to be accomplished. When they afterwards became acquainted with the English, several of the oldest and most trustworthy among them related these facts.* The story accounts sufficiently for the declaration made by the Indians to Eliot, Shepard, and Wilson, respecting the religious knowledge of their fathers.

It may be here observed, that Mayhew relates a similar, but less precise remark, made by one of the natives on Martha's Vineyard. The Indian said, that "a long time ago their people had wise men, who in a grave manner taught them knowledge; but," he added, "they are dead, and their wisdom is buried with them; and now men live a giddy life in ignorance till they are white-headed, and go without wisdom unto their graves." † This speech may have referred to the same reminiscence of a better knowledge, which is explained by the instructions of the Frenchman; or it may have been merely one of those complaints of the degeneracy of present times, the disposition to which is perhaps too natural to man to be confined to the civilized.

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* See Judge Davis's edition of MORTON'S *New England's Memorial*, p. 60; also Mr. Savage's remark in his notes on *Winthrop*, Vol. I. p. 59.

† Mayhew's letter to Winslow in *Glorious Progresse, &c.*, p. 5.

Another circumstance, which interested Mr Eliot and his companions, was the relation of a dream by an Indian in these parts. He said, that about two years before the English came over, a very destructive sickness prevailed among the Indians. One night, when his sleep was broken and troubled, he saw, in a dream multitude of men coming to that region, dressed in precisely such garments as he now found the English to wear. Among them was one man all in black, with something in his hand, which he now discovered to have been a book, such as the English carry. The man in black stood higher than the rest, having the Indians on one side and the English on the other. He assured the Indians, that God was angry with them, and would destroy them for their sins. Upon this, the dreamer stood up, and begged to know what God would do with him, and his squaw, and papooses. This question he repeated three times, when his fears were relieved by being told, that they would all be safe, and that God would give them victuals and good things. Such was the vision of the night, which the savage had to relate.

No one, I presume, at the present day will be disposed to inquire, whether it were prophetic, or will think the Indian had reason to say with Eve,

> "For God is also in sleep, and dreams advise,
> Which he hath sent propitious, some great good

> Presaging, since with sorrow and heart's distress
> Wearied I fell asleep."

But Shepard, who tells the story, while he professes to have little faith in dreams, yet inclines to think, that God may see fit to speak in this way to the Indians, when he would not to those who have a more sure word of warning and direction. His construction is more favorable to the savages, than the poetic judgment of Claudian, who declares that

> "Barbarians never taste the hallowed streams
> Of prophecy, nor are inspired by dreams." *

The simple truth of the case is, that the dream may be easily explained by adverting again to the story of the French priest. The circumstances of it have a sufficient resemblance to the facts of that story; and it occurred during the prevalence of the fearful sickness, when the mind of the Indian was harassed by the alarm, which the Frenchman's prediction had awakened. He saw in his sleep a confused image, with some additions, of what he had seen, or heard of, when the man in black announced the judgments of God. The story thus explained is of some value, as an illustration of the laws that prevail in the phenomena of dreams.

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* "Nullus Castalios latices, et præscia fati
Flumina, polluto barbarus ore bibit."

CLAUDIAN. *In Ruf.* Lib. II. Præf.

The man who told this dream proved to be no hopeful hearer of the word. Mr. Eliot and his brethren flattered themselves, that the vision he had received would dispose him to attend particularly to the men in black, who had now come. But his dream seems to have had no such stimulating effect. He withdrew from the sermon, though he came again at the latter part of it, "hoping it had been done." The ministers then endeavored to persuade him to stay; but "away he flung," and they saw no more of him till the next day. Of the effect produced by their labors in this quarter, we have no sufficiently particular statement to form an estimate.*

* The only account of this visit to Yarmouth, which I have seen, is in SHEPARD's *Cleare Sun-shine, &c.*, pp. 8 – 10.

CHAPTER VIII.

Eliot's Care of Nonantum. — Questions. — Eliot's Endeavors to interest Others in the Cause. — His Need of Assistance. — Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians established in England.

The little establishment at Nonantum continued an object of as lively interest to Mr. Eliot as ever; perhaps more so than any other scene of labor, because his first converts were there. In 1649, he wrote to a gentleman in England, who had advised him to encourage his Christian Indians to plant orchards and cultivate gardens. This he had already done. He had promised them several hundred trees, which were reserved in nurseries for them, and which he hoped they would plant the next spring. They were then engaged in fencing a large cornfield, and had finished two hundred rods of ditching, securing the banks with stones gathered from the fields.

Mr. Eliot complains of bad tools, and of a want of tools, and says that a magazine of all necessary implements must be provided for them. He tells his correspondent, that they were able to saw very good boards and planks,

and that they would do all these things better, and in a more orderly manner, if he could be with them more frequently. He found them willing to follow his advice, but was prudent enough not to require a great deal of them at first. "I find it absolutely necessary," he observes, "to carry on civility with religion." The best mode of effecting his objects, as he believed, would be to establish a settlement for the Indians in some place distant from the English, to live among them, to bring them under a regular form of government, and into the practice of the mechanical arts and trades It gives us an affecting idea of the poverty of our venerated fathers, when he adds, that such an enterprise would be too costly for New England at that time, which was her day of small things.

Schools for the natives were favorite objects with our apostle. A gentleman in London, whose name he never knew, had in 1648 sent him ten pounds for that purpose. Five pounds he paid to a woman in Cambridge for teaching Indian children; "and," says he, "God so blessed her labors, that they came on very prettily." The other five pounds he paid to a schoolmaster in Dorchester, who taught the children of the natives with very good success. He feared, however, that the schools would fail, as he could hear of no further supply for

their support, and so the children would lose all they had learned the first year. His own course of catechizing the young, whenever he held a meeting, he continued constantly, and found their proficiency very encouraging.*

These are specimens of the minute and humble labors, to which this devoted man gave his time and heart, that he might bless the unenlightened with civilization and Christianity Many were his hindrances and discouragements; but he always toiled in the cheerfulness of hope. Is there not something touching in the incidental remark he makes, that "it is hard to look on the day of small things with patience enough"?

Many of the questions propounded by the

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* Glorious Progresse of the Gospel, &c., p. 16. — Mr. Eliot was pleased with his success among the Indian children, whose docility and good progress he on several occasions praises. In this respect he was more fortunate than was Mr. Egede with the Greenland boys, whom he took into his house, and of whom we are told, "as to their learning, it went briskly at first, because they had a fish-hook, or some such thing, given them for every letter they learnt. But they were soon glutted with this business, and said, they knew not what end it answered to sit all day long looking upon a piece of paper, and crying a, b, c, &c.; that he and the factor were worthless people, because they did nothing but look in a book, or scrawl upon paper with a feather; but, on the contrary, the Greenlanders were brave men, they would hunt seals, shoot birds, &c." — CRANTZ'S *History of Greenland*, Vol. I. p. 290.

Indians about this time sufficiently prove, that they were neither dull hearers nor thoughtless men. Specimens of them are recorded by their teacher; and they are found to be full of meaning. The true principle of moral and mental life must have been awakened, or they could not have been suggested. They show, as Mr. Eliot justly remarks, that "the souls of these men were in a searching condition after the great points of religion and salvation."

Meanwhile the Indian apostle endeavored to inspire his brethren in the ministry and others with a zeal kindred to that of which his own heart was full. The sachem Cutshamakin had some subjects at Martha's Vineyard. They had been moved by his example to adopt the new religion, and were reckoned in the number of "praying Indians."

In 1648 Mr. Eliot speaks of having entreated the younger Mayhew, who was the minister at the Vineyard, to attend to the religious wants of these Indians. To this call Mayhew was not inattentive. Indeed he had for some time been engaged in learning the language of the natives, with a view to the introduction of Christianity among them. Eliot speaks with thankful emotion of the success of his efforts. He afterwards recurs to the subject, and expresses his gratitude for the blessing of God on Mayhew's labors, hoping that the natives at

the Vineyard would be prepared to form a regular civil and religious settlement, when they should see a successful experiment of that kind in another place, such as he had set his heart on endeavoring to effect. His friendship for Mr. Mayhew is further evinced by the pains he took to procure books for him. In a letter sent to England about this time, he mentions him with much affection, as a young beginner, who is in extreme want of books; he begs, therefore, that commentaries, and all the works necessary for a young minister, may be forwarded by the benevolent. It was a request on which he laid much stress.*

Our good evangelist was importunate with all the ministers, who lived near the Indians, to learn their language, and put their hands to the work of spreading among them the knowledge of God. Having mentioned these solicitations, he adds, "I hope God will in his time bow their hearts thereunto." These anxious desires for cooperation were naturally dictated by the strength of his own feelings for the cause, and by his heartfelt conviction of its great importance. There is an expansive action in moral warmth, like that which belongs to heat in the natural world. It cannot remain shut up in the heart where it originates, but

* Eliot's letters in 3 M. H. Coll. IV. 81, 128.

ever seeks to diffuse itself. No man can work heartily for truth or benevolence, without endeavoring to infuse into others something of the spirit by which he is himself animated and impelled.

Hitherto the Apostle to the Indians had persevered in his pious enterprise with comparatively little aid. He had received indeed the encouraging sympathy of many around him, both of the clergy and the laity. Some of the ministers, the Governor, and other magistrates were frequently present at his lectures. They cheered his spirit and strengthened his hands by giving him their countenance and occasional assistance. But nearly the whole burden of the undertaking rested on him; and the time seemed to have arrived, when, if it was to be sustained and enlarged, some efficient help would be necessary. Shepard, who had taken an active and hearty interest in Mr. Eliot's success, and had often been his companion in the work, died in 1649. The loss of such a friend and counsellor must have pressed heavily on the heart of the good evangelist.

The efforts he had already made appeared to have been sufficiently successful to encourage more extensive plans of benevolence for the Indians. It has been before mentioned, that his favorite project was to bring them together in well-ordered towns, where industrious em

ployment in the several arts and trades, and general improvement in civil affairs, might advance hand in hand with religious instruction. This wisely conceived part of his plan lay near his heart; but it could not be accomplished without considerable assistance. Such assistance, as we have seen, he could not and did not expect from the infant colony; for New England, who now makes every ocean white with her commerce, and over whose hills and by whose rivers prosperous villages and wealthy towns are at this day scattered broadcast, was then scarcely able to sustain her own few and poor settlements in the wilderness. Some pecuniary aid, however, Mr. Eliot received from an appropriation made by order of the General Court.* While he was grateful for this

* This was in May, 1647. The order was as follows; 'It is ordered, that ten pounds be given to Mr. Eliot, as a gratuity from this Court, in respect of his pains in instructing the Indians in the knowledge of God, and that order be taken that the twenty pounds per annum, given by the Lady Armine for that purpose, may be called for and employed accordingly." See Savage's note on Winthrop, Vol. II. p. 305. The benefaction of Lady Armine, here mentioned, is recorded by Winthrop, Vol. II. p. 212; but he does not state for what purpose it was given. It appears, by the order of the Court, to have been designed to promote the Indian work.

From the above statement we learn, that Gookin was not quite correct, when he said, "In this work did this good man [Eliot] industriously travail sundry years, without any

proffered bounty, he must still have been aware that the further extension of his efforts would require a larger supply than could be looked for at home.

At this juncture his heart was gladdened by assistance from the mother country. The labors for the conversion of the Indians had been reported in England, and had excited not a little attention. The tract entitled "*The Day-Breaking, if not the Sun-Rising of the Gospel*," &c., and Shepard's "*Cleare Sun-shine of the Gospel*," &c., in which was given an interesting account of these labors, had been published in London. Shepard's papers on the subject were sent to Edward Winslow, who had gone to England as agent for the colony. This gentleman communicated them to some of the most distinguished clergymen in and about London, such as Marshall, Goodwin, Whitaker, and Calamy, who, when the papers were published, prefaced them with two very fervent epistles, one addressed to the Parliament, the other "to the godly and well-affected" of the

external encouragement, from men I mean, as to the receiving any salary or reward. Indeed, verbal encouragements, and the presence of divers persons at his lectures he wanted not."—1 M. H. Coll., I. 169. It may be that Eliot, in his usual spirit of disinterestedness, did not accept the gratuity of ten pounds; but the offer of it by the Court proves, that he received somewhat more than merely "verbal encouragements."

nation. In these an earnest call was sounded for interest and help in the work of converting the natives of New England.

The appeal to Parliament was not made in vain. An order was passed, March 17th, 1647 requiring the Committee on Foreign Plantations to prepare an ordinance "for the encouragement and advancement of learning and piety in New England." The committee reported the result of their deliberations. It does not appear what course of measures, or what mode of action, they proposed. But whatever these were, Eliot was much gratified with them; for, in a letter to Winslow the next year, he expressed his entire approbation of what had been done, adding, "I trust it is perfected long before this time." But he expected more than had then been accomplished. At that period of agitating excitement, the Parliament were so absorbed in other more urgent business, that the report of their committee was for some time neglected. Winslow, who felt a warm and honorable interest in the matter, in an "epistle dedicatory" prefixed to a tract which he published in 1649, ventured to remind them of this neglect, and asked permission to recall their attention to the subject. By way of appeal to their piety, he dropped the hint, that doubtless "the common enemy of man's salvation" rejoiced, when a godly

enterprise, so happily begun, was suspended for want of further encouragement; and he urged the probability, on which so much stress was laid by many at that time, that the North American Indians were the descendants of the ten tribes of Israel.

How much influence this appeal may have had in exciting an immediate attention to the subject, we know not; but the Parliament passed an ordinance, July 27th, 1649, for the advancement of civilization and Christianity among the Indians of New England.* A corporation in perpetual succession was instituted, bearing the title of "The President and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England," with power to receive, manage, and dispose of moneys for that purpose. It was also enacted, that a general contribution for the object should be made through England and Wales. The ministers were required to read the ordinance from their pulpits, at the same time exhorting the people to give generous aid to the pious undertaking. The universities of Oxford and Cambridge also issued letters addressed to the ministers, calling upon them to stir up their congregations to the good work. But, notwithstanding this powerful influence, the contribution proceeded heavily and

* The breviat of this Act is given in HUTCHINSON'S *History of Massachusetts*, Vol. I. p. 153.

slowly. It met a warm opposition; and the whole plan of converting the Indians was alleged by many to be merely a scheme to gather money by appealing to the piety of the nation So discouraging was the prospect of a contribution from the people, that an effort was made to raise something from the army.

But, in despite of all opposition, a very considerable sum was collected. Lands were purchased to the value of between five and six hundred pounds a year, and vested in a corporation, of which Judge Steel was the first president, and Mr. Henry Ashurst the first treasurer. Portions of the income were from time to time transmitted to America, and entrusted to the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, who faithfully appropriated the money to the objects for which it was collected.

It appears from notices, which we gather at different periods, that salaries were paid to the preachers engaged in the work; that schools for the Indians were supported; tools, instruments of labor, wool, and other commodities provided for them; an Indian college erected, and the expense of printing Eliot's Translation of the Bible and of other books defrayed. The last-mentioned of these objects will recur in a subsequent part of this narrative. They were the most expensive of any to which the funds

of the Society were applied. It cannot now be ascertained, I suppose, how much Mr. Eliot annually received from this source. We know however, that for the year 1662, as appears from the account rendered by the Commissioners, his salary was fifty pounds.* This was a larger sum, than was granted to any other individual that year. It was, we may presume, justly deemed a liberal allowance.

On the restoration of Charles in 1660, the funds, and even the existence of this corporation, were endangered. Some, who had the ear of the king, endeavored to persuade him, that the act by which the Society was constituted, having been passed without the royal assent, was illegal; and they advised him to absorb its revenues into the royal coffers. The corporation had purchased an estate worth three hundred and twenty-two pounds per annum of one Colonel Bedingfield, a papist. This man took advantage of the opportunity afforded by the restoration, when he supposed the corporation to be dead in law, to repossess himself of this estate. He also refused to repay the money he had received for it.

At this perilous crisis, the Society found an able and efficient friend in the Honorable Robert Boyle, a name which so nobly adorns the

* Gookin, 1 M. H. Coll., I. 218.

history of science and of general learning in England. He promptly made use of his interest with the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, to avert the threatened injustice, and to reëstablish the rights of the corporation.* Richard Baxter and Mr. Ashurst were likewise active on the occasion, and their indefatigable zeal was of great service.† The king, probably by the influence of Clarendon, instead of listening to the evil counsel he had received, granted a new charter to the Society, and confirmed its rights under his royal hand.‡ Bedingfield prosecuted his claim by a suit in chancery, and thus delayed the recovery of the contested property about a year. But the Lord Chancellor, who in the whole course of this business had been steadily favorable to the rights of the Society gave judgment against him, and granted a decree for a new corporation.

Thus the question, in which Mr. Eliot's favorite work in New England was so deeply interested, was happily settled, and the Society restored

* See BIRCH's *Life of Boyle*, p. 42, prefixed to the edition of Boyle's Works in five volumes, fol., London, 1744.

† See *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, or BAXTER's *Narrative of his Life*, published by Sylvester, p. 290. Baxter ascribes a large share of influence in this business to himself and Mr. Ashurst. There can be little doubt, that the agency of Boyle was more efficient than that of any other man.

‡ The charter may be found in the Appendix to BIRCH's *Life of Boyle*, No. I.

to a secure course of usefulness. Robert Boyle was appointed its first governor under the new constitution, and remained constantly devoted to its interests. The sincerity with which he espoused the cause of the Society for Propogating the Gospel among the Indians, was evinced by bestowing upon it a third part of the forfeited impropriations in Ireland, which in 1662 were granted to him by the King.* An interesting correspondence was carried on from time to time between Mr. Boyle and Mr. Eliot, to which, as well as to some letters that passed between Eliot and Richard Baxter, I shall hereafter have occasion to refer.†

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* Birch's *Life of Boyle*, p. 41.

† Mr. Boyle's first letter to the Commissioners of the Colonies, and their answer, are given by Gookin, 1 M. H. Coll., 214–218. They are both valuable, as exhibiting the views and the spirit of the leading men, who were engaged in the cause.

CHAPTER IX.

Further Labors of Eliot among the Natives. — His Letters to Winslow. — Questions of the Indians. — Eliot's Converts troubled by Gorton's Doctrines. — Desire of the Indians for a Town and School. — Opposition from the Powaws and Sachems.

I now return to the story of Mr. Eliot's exertions among the Indians; but I find it difficult to arrange his labors in chronological order, on account of the disjointed manner in which they are related by himself and others.

We learn from his statement, that the natives in the southern parts of Massachusetts and the adjoining region were in general but little disposed to embrace Christianity. There were a few "praying Indians" at Titacut. Young Massasoit (whom Eliot calls by his other name, Ousamequin), son of the sachem so distinguished in the history of Plymouth, was opposed to all attempts at religious instruction; and of his father Mr. Eliot humorously says, "The old man is too wise to look after it." The western Indians were found to be more docile. They listened to the word with much willingness. Shawanon, the sachem of Nasha-

way, had received Christianity; and many of his people, induced perhaps as much by his example as by any other motive, had done the same. We have seen before, that he was friendly to Mr. Eliot, and ready to defend him in the hour of danger. In the summer of 1648, the apostle visited his domain four times, and found a numerous people there. But, as it was nearly forty miles from his home, he could not be with them so frequently as he or they wished. They begged him to come oftener and stay longer.*

* When Shawanon died, an apprehension was entertained, that his people might choose such a successor, as would be friendly neither to Christianity nor to the English. To avert this danger, the Court made use of Mr. Eliot's influence with the Indians. He and Mr. Nowell were sent to them for the purpose of persuading them to make a proper choice. This fact I learn from the following notice, extracted from the Colony Records, under the date of October, 1654.

"Whereas Shawanon, sagamore of Nashaway, is lately dead, and another is now suddenly to be chosen in his room, they being a great people that have submitted to this jurisdiction, and their eyes being upon two or three of the blood, one whereof is very debased, and a drunken fellow, and no friend of the English, another is very hopeful to learn the things of Christ; — This Court doth therefore order, that Mr. Increase Nowell and Mr. John Eliot shall and hereby are desired to repair to the Indians, and labor by their best counsel to prevail with them for the choosing of such a one as may be most fit to be their sagamore, which would be a good service to the country"

There are letters of Mr. Eliot, written to Winslow in 1649 and 1650. From these we learn something of the objects which engaged his interest. Winslow had informed him of a distinguished Jewish theologian at Amsterdam, Rabbi Ben Israel, who affirmed, that the ten tribes of Israel were certainly transported to America, of which fact there were "infallible tokens." Eliot eagerly seized on this piece of information, supposing it might bring to light new evidence for his favorite opinion. He requested his correspondent to sift the matter thoroughly, and to learn, if possible, on what grounds the Jewish doctor had founded his assertion, at what time, in what manner, and in what numbers the lost tribes had reached America. In confirmation of the theory he stated, that Mr. Dudley had told him of one Captain Cromwell, lately deceased at Boston, who had frequently been among Indians at the south, that were circumcised, and had been able to ascertain the fact beyond all doubt. "This," says Eliot, "is one of the most probable arguments that ever I yet heard of." His solicitude to have this point proved did not spring from idle curiosity. The inquiry was one of those, which clustered around the central interest of his soul; for, if it could be shown, that the Indians were descendants from the ancient people of God, to whom a cove-

nant of rich promises was once given, he believed there would be "a ground of faith to expect mercy for them"; for, as he says, "Jehovah remembereth and giveth being to ancient promises." His heart would then be greatly encouraged in his work.*

However we may smile at the theory which he cherished with so much zeal, or at the arguments by which he sought to support it, we must respect the motive, which gave this bias to his speculations. If his desire to impart the blessings of divine truth to the Indians had been less fervent, he would have cared less to prove, that they came from the ancient stock of Israel.

Mr. Eliot felt, and expressed in his correspondence, a warm sympathy with those who were placed amidst the strong conflicts, by which the mother country was rent asunder. His wishes and prayers were all in favor of the dominant party; but whether the execution of the King was regarded by him with approbation, we have no means of ascertaining.

From the contemplation of political convulsions, however, his heart was still returning to his own good work at home, and rested there. He was delighted to receive any sympathy on

* Further Discovery of the Present State of the Indians, &c., pp. 14, 24.

this subject. He blessed God when he heard, that the celebrated John Owen expressed a great interest in his labors. The favorable notice, which the conversion of the Indians had gained in Parliament, together with his political prepossessions, induced him to speak of that assembly in terms of indiscriminate praise, which may be thought at the present day to need some qualification.

He renewed at this time the mention of schools to be provided for the natives. No man believed more devoutly in the necessity of dependence on the divine blessing; but he no less firmly believed, that, if the work of improvement was to be permanent, the foundation must be laid in the education of the young. He insisted, therefore, that there must be an annual appropriation for the support of schoolmasters and schoolmistresses. He proposed to carry the business of education still further; for he had found some of the Indian youth so docile, and of such prompt and quick parts, that he wished to have them, as he expressed it, "wholly sequestered to learning." By this he meant, that they should be sent to college, and devote their lives to study and teaching. Ten pounds per annum, he thought, would be sufficient for the maintenance of a single youth in this way. At a later period, we shall see, unsuccessful attempts were made to carry this

plan in some degree into effect. Eliot likewise urged the importance of translating the Bible and other books for the natives. He insisted, that, if money could be procured, there was no purpose to which it might be so usefully devoted as to this. These were the leading objects, to which he earnestly called the attention of his friends in England.

Winslow and Mr. Herbert Pelham, who was likewise in England at that time, had taken occasion in their letters to express their affectionate greetings to the "praying Indians." Eliot, touched with this kind remembrance of his converts, soon found opportunity to make use of it, as an illustration in the course of his instructions. Some Christian Indians from Martha's Vineyard had visited those, to whom our evangelist ministered in Massachusetts. Among them was one, whose assistance Mayhew had found very serviceable in learning their language. Eliot's Indians had much conversation with their visiters, and, finding a perfect sympathy on religious subjects, they gave the strangers a hearty welcome.

This circumstance occasioned a question, which to a man like their teacher must have had an affecting interest. "How is it," said they, "that, when an Indian whom we never saw before, comes among us, and we find that he prays to God, we love him exceedingly; but

when our own brother, dwelling at a distance, visits us, if he does not pray to God, though we love him, yet it is not with such a love as we have for the other man?" The sentiment of religious sympathy must have been strong, that gave rise to such a question in the minds of men scarcely in any considerable degree reclaimed from savage life.

Mr. Eliot first inquired, whether they really found this feeling in their hearts. They replied that they did, and had often wondered at it. Encouraged by this answer, their teacher further asked them, what they supposed could be the reason, that good people in England, at the distance of three thousand miles, who never saw them, should love them as soon as they heard of their praying to God, and send them tokens of their affectionate regard. He then mentioned the kind message sent by Mr Winslow and Mr. Pelham. He reminded them of the good things already bestowed by their friends in England, and assured them that they would receive more, for that means would soon be sent to assist them in building a town.

The Indians acknowledged, that they could not account for this benevolent interest. Mr Eliot, having thus prepared their minds, proceeded to explain to them the nature of that unity of spirit by which those who love religion are attached to each other, and doubtless

left on their hearts a far more salutary and enduring impression, than could have been conveyed by any attempt to open the depths of doctrinal mysteries.

Our apostle was troubled to hear, that some, who had gone from America, had reported unfavorably in England concerning his work among the natives. He requested Mr. Winslow to inquire of such, whether they had ever taken the pains to go three or four miles to some of the Indian meetings, that they might judge for themselves from personal observation. If they had not, he protested against their testimony. If they had done so, and were acquainted with the Indians, he begged to know specifically what their objections were.

As to the general, sweeping charge, that all the Indians were bad and reckless, because those were so who were found loitering around the English settlements, watching for an opportunity to steal or to do mischief, he would have such as talked in this way consider how it would fare with the English, if the character of all should be judged and condemned by that of the worst among them. He asked only for fair dealing. While he was far enough from making any extravagant claims for his Indians, he would not have them traduced by the thoughtless or the malignant, without interposing an honest vindication.

While Eliot was thus actively engaged in labors, which took and kept him much from home, he was not unmindful of his studies His love of books appears by a request he made to Winslow for assistance, to enable him to purchase the library of Mr. Welde, his former colleague, who had gone to England, and did not intend to return. He was extremely unwilling, that these books should be sent back to England, while they were so much needed in the infant colony, where the means of theological learning were scanty. The price of the library was thirty-four pounds; but he would pay that price only on condition that all the books were included.

It seems, from his manner of speaking, that he expected to refund the money which he wished to have disbursed for him on this occasion. But he soon after learned, that the corporation in England were willing to discharge the expense of the purchase, for which he was heartily grateful. They likewise bought the library of Mr. Jenner, minister of Weymouth, for Harvard College, as appears from a letter of Winslow, published by Hazard.* Eliot's expressions seem to imply, that Welde's books were to be presented to him; but this is not

* See Savage's note on Winthrop, Vol. I. p. 251. Mr. Eliot also mentions Jenner's library in connexion with Welde's.

positively said. He promised to send to England a catalogue of each of the libraries, as soon as his engagements should allow him sufficient leisure.

On one occasion, Eliot's converts were somewhat troubled by the doctrines of the notorious Gorton, whose conduct and creed caused so much disturbance in the early days of New England. In July, 1650, two of the "praying Indians" travelled to Providence and Warwick, and spent the Sabbath among Gorton's followers, with whom they had much conference about religion. They returned with perplexing doubts on their minds. At the next lecture, before the assembly had fully come together, one of those Indians asked Mr. Eliot this question; "How happens it, that the English, among whom I have lately been, though they have the same Bible as we have, yet speak different things?" He then said, that he and his brother had visited Providence and Warwick, and though they did not understand the public exercises, yet they learned from conversation, that there was much difference between the opinions of the people there and those of their own teacher.

Mr. Eliot requested him to state the particulars. He accordingly enumerated the points, about which their faith had been disturbed. "First," said he, "you teach us there is a

heaven and a hell; but according to Gorton's people, it is not so; for they say the only heaven is in the hearts of the good, and the only hell in the hearts of the wicked." "Well," said the preacher, "how did you answer that?" "I told them," rejoined the Indian, "that I did not believe their doctrine, because heaven is a place where good men go after death, and hell is a place where the wicked go when they die." Mr. Eliot was pleased with the reply.

Many reflecting Christians at the present day would find little or nothing objectionable in the doctrine of Gorton's followers on this subject. But probably the conceptions, which the Indians had naturally formed, were better suited to the rude state of their minds, than more refined views. A *place*, with outward material accompaniments for happiness or misery, is a more definite and imposing object to the imagination, than a state of the heart; because it admits those gorgeous descriptions and that glowing imagery, which have all the stirring effect of the most striking objects of sense.

The Indian then proceeded to mention other particulars, in which some of Gorton's peculiar opinions against infant baptism, and against the utility or propriety of the office of ministers and magistrates, were developed. On each of these topics Eliot inquired, how they had

met and answered the doctrines of these men. He found that in every instance, they had, as he believed, replied wisely and soundly. Gorton's people said, besides, something about the Parliament of England, which the Indian reporter did not understand.

It is observable, that during this conversation Mr. Eliot himself made no remarks on the errors of Gorton. He merely proposed queries, to ascertain how the minds of his Indian disciples were affected by these views, and how their own unassisted thoughts could dispose of them. Full of joy at finding these untutored men, whose faith had been thus exposed to a perilous encounter, so discreet and firm in the right way, he offered solemn thanks, in the prayer at the opening of the ensuing service, that God had given them such ability to discern between right and wrong, and so stout hearts to stand for the truth against error. He regarded this trial as an evidence of the success, which the blessing of God had bestowed on his teaching.*

It should here be mentioned, that in the remonstrance against "The Petition and Declaration of Samuel Gorton," which was intrusted to Winslow when he went to England, and addressed to the Earl of Warwick and the other Commissioners for Foreign Plantations, it was

* Eliot's Letter in *Further Discovery, &c.*, pp. 33–35.

maintained, that the good work of christianiz ing and civilizing the Indians, which had been so happily begun by Mr. Eliot, would be dashed, if Gorton should be countenanced and upheld in his proceedings.* There was so much heated excitement against this man, that it is difficult to judge whether the accusation was well founded.

The project of establishing a town for the "praying Indians" was one of growing interest and importance. The natives themselves entered heartily into the plan, and in the spring of 1650 importuned their teacher to permit them to begin the enterprise. But at that time he advised them to delay the business a little, as he was waiting for tools and other helps from England, by means of which he hoped to prosecute the work in the summer.

Meanwhile several ships arrived without bringing the expected supply. This failure made Mr. Eliot sad. His heart smote him for depending so much on human means, and for repressing the zeal of the Indians, by holding out a hope which was not fulfilled. The piety of his day regarded every disappointment as a rebuke from God. He thought himself now called to learn the lesson of putting more trust in the Lord, and less in man. So seri-

* SAVAGE'S *Winthrop*, Vol. II. p. 297.

ously did he construe this temporary delay of the expected assistance, that he consulted with the elders and some of the members of his church, as to the light in which it was to be viewed. He also sought the advice of several elders at the Boston lecture.

Mr. Cotton declared, "My heart saith, Go on, and look to the Lord only for help." Eliot's church, upon his recommendation, observed a day of fasting and prayer for this and for other causes, and engaged to afford as much aid as their ability would permit. At that very time, before they had retired from the place of meeting, they had notice of the arrival of a ship from England, by which encouraging letters and promises of aid were received from private friends. This mercy cheered the spirits of Mr. Eliot; and it was so ordered, he observes, that he "should receive it as a fruit of prayer."

While his conduct on this occasion may be thought to exhibit the hasty despondency, into which a temporary check upon a favorite plan sometimes betrays the feelings even of a good man, and we wonder that he should so suddenly construe his disappointment into a reproof from heaven, and his relief into a special answer to prayer; we may also observe here that habit of reliance on God, which is so often the stimulating principle of energetic and

persevering action in a good cause. Man is never so strong as when, in the consciousness of utter dependence, he leans on the wisdom and goodness of Him whose arm sustains the universe.

Meanwhile our evangelist continued with unwearied zeal to preach, and to instruct by question and answer, at the several stations where he was accustomed to collect the Indians. It was not to be expected, that he could proceed without opposition from the natives. No missionary ever went to unenlightened men in a better spirit of love and wisdom than Mr. Eliot. But all his prudence, all his affectionate address, could not silence or obviate the irritated feelings of many, who were unable to appreciate the kindness which aimed only to do them good. The selfish passions, too, were naturally stirred into resistance. Mr. Eliot accordingly, while cheered with some encouraging evidences of success, found himself called to meet and subdue the obstacles thrown in his way by the action of fierce and resentful feelings.

The opposition at first arose chiefly from the powaws. These men, though occasionally treated with indignity by their people, possessed that power, the stronger for being mysterious, which a supposed connexion with the invisible world always confers.

The savage, if inaccessible in other ways, is for the most part easily held captive by his superstitious fears. The howling and dances, the charms and incantations of the powaws, overawed men, whom no physical force could intimidate, and from whom no physical pain could extort a groan. It was believed, that they could kill or cure the diseased, and that they had communications from the world of spirits, enabling them to bewitch their enemies, or put them to death. Their influence operated so deeply on the minds of the Indians, that even the Christian converts stood in awe of them, and found it almost impossible to shake off their dread of the supernatural endowments, with which they were supposed to be invested. Such an influence as this, so flattering to the natural love of power in the human breast, we may readily believe would not be resigned without a struggle

One of the first objects with Mr. Eliot was to induce the Indians to abandon their powaws, and thus to liberate them from that debasing thraldom in which they had been held. When these men saw a new religion introduced among their people, which threatened to withdraw from their hands those over whom they had exercised such power, they met the innovation with determined resistance. They brought all the agency of old fears to bear on every one,

who showed a disposition to escape; and it required no common courage to set their threats at defiance. Many of the apostle's disciples were exceedingly troubled in this way. He "observed a striking difference in their countenances, when the powaws were present and when they were out of the way."*

For some time the principal opposition to Eliot's labors came from these men. But, in a letter to Winslow in 1650, he observes, that the sachems also had generally become formidable enemies, and omitted no effort or device to prevent their people from "praying to God," for this was the general phrase by which they designated the new religion. Their opposition sprung from one of the strongest feelings in the heart of man, whether savage or civilized. The effect of Mr. Eliot's success was to emancipate their people in some degree from the grasp of their despotic tyranny. They held their subjects in absolute servitude. Both property and persons were at their command; and the language of the sachem was, "All is mine." What they wanted, they would demand with violent clamors, or seize without hesitation. The consequence was, that their people either timidly surrendered all that they had, or concerted some plot to murder their oppres-

* Neal's *History of New England*, Vol. I. p. 253.

sors. On one side was lawless tyranny; on the other, unconditional submission or reckless outrage. The Indian subjects, knowing that whatever they might acquire was at the mercy of the sachems, felt no desire to gain any thing more than a bare sufficiency for present subsistence.

Wherever Christianity was introduced among them, it had a tendency to abolish, or greatly mitigate, this state of servitude and oppression. The people learned in some rude degree to understand their rights. They were willing to pay the tribute as before; but they insisted that it should be regulated by acknowledged and reasonable measures.

When the sachem attempted to overawe them by rage and violence, they had the courage to admonish him for his sin, instead of pacifying him by submission. They let him know, that their possessions were not to be extorted from them in that way, and, reminding him that they had learned industry from the divine command, they even ventured to enjoin on him the same duty. Neither in the splendid palace, nor in the cabins of the forest, is man willing to resign arbitrary power, so long as he can hold it. The sachems could not look with complacency or indifference on the inroads of a religion, the effect of which was to bring their authority

within some just limits and under some reasonable principles.

Mr. Eliot tells us, that he had requested the Commissioners for the United Colonies to devise a general mode for the instruction of all the Indians, and that in his prayers he was accustomed to offer petitions for some of the tribes by name, such as the Mohegans and the Narragansets. This, being made known among them, occasioned much excitement. Uncas, sachem of the Mohegans, went to Hartford, when the Court of Commissioners was in session there, and expressed to them the apprehensions this report had raised in his mind, and his extreme dislike towards the introduction of Christianity among his people.*

Under these circumstances, the "praying Indians" naturally became objects of aversion and persecution. The sachems banished them from their communities, and even in some instances, it is said, put them to death. Had not their fear of the English held them considerably in check, the converts would probably in general have fared much worse at their hands than they did.

Mr. Eliot was often in great personal danger. His life would frequently have been in peril among them, had they not dreaded the

* Eliot's letter in *Further Discovery*, &c., p. 38, &c

retaliation of their English neighbors, who were too strong to permit outrage with impunity. They would sometimes drive him out with violent and menacing language, and would tell him, that, if he came again, it should be at his peril.

He had too much of the spirit of a martyr to be intimidated by these threats. "I am engaged," he said to them, "in the work of God, and God is with me. I fear not all the sachems in the country. I shall go on in my work, and do you touch me if you dare." The same man, whose heart was full of love, and who with the most winning gentleness would interest himself in the wants of the little children of the wigwam, could, when the occasion called for unyielding intrepidity, face without dismay the savage chiefs, and answer their angry violence with a firmness, before which the stoutest of them quailed.

It is worthy of remark, that Eliot makes no severe comment on this sharp opposition. He lamented it chiefly because he feared it might deter many of the Indians from venturing to adopt the religion of Christ. He regarded it with compassion, as the natural conduct of men, who could not understand, that he was bringing them a blessing, instead of inflicting an injury.

He had, moreover, the piety and the wisdom

to believe, that good would spring out of this warm opposition. The searching and sifting trial, through which the Indians passed in becoming Christians, would be at once an evidence and an exercise of their fidelity. The chaff would be winnowed out, and only the good grain brought in. The insincere, the loose, the careless, who from various base or unworthy motives might have called themselves "praying Indians," could they have done it with safety or advantage, would be effectually kept away from a profession, which they could adopt only at the risk of persecution. On the other hand, a strong confidence might be placed in those, who had firmness and faith enough to brave the displeasure of sachems and powaws, and give themselves up to the new religion in defiance of the perils by which they were surrounded. The impulse, that inspired such courage, could be no light or hypocritical one. There would be a well-founded hope, that the true light had dawned on their minds, that the principle of inward life had been touched by divine truth.

It was wise in Mr. Eliot thus to derive encouragement even from strenuous opposition; though, in expecting so much good from this source, he did not, perhaps, make sufficient allowance for the difference between savage and refined man, as to the influence of such mo-

tives. It should, however, be observed, that his confidence even in those, who came into Christianity through so many obstacles, was not hastily bestowed. He cautiously waited for the testimony of a competent time. If upon experience they were found to improve in the knowledge and love of religion, in proportion as they understood it, and to submit to its restraints, and practise its duties, "what," he modestly and feelingly asked, "should hinder charity from hoping, that there is grace in their hearts, a spark kindled by the word and spirit of God, that shall never be quenched?"

CHAPTER X.

The Settlement at Natick. — Labors of the Indians at that Place. — Form of Polity devised for them by Eliot. — Their Civil Covenant. — Visit of Governor Endicot and Mr. Wilson to Natick, and their Account. — Eliot's Endeavors to form Indian Preachers. — Further Particulars of Natick.

The time had come when Mr. Eliot's long-cherished desire for the establishment of a town of "praying Indians" was to be gratified. It would seem, that the settlement at Nonantum would naturally have been selected for that purpose. But there were reasons why the leader of the enterprise preferred to seek another place for the community he had in view.

It was his opinion, that the town ought to be "somewhat remote from the English." Difficulties had already been found to arise from the vicinity of Nonantum to the English settlers; and Eliot was persuaded, that, for several reasons, it would be expedient for the natives to have a more insulated situation, where there would be less danger of collision. Besides, Nonantum did not afford room enough for his purpose. He wanted a tract of land,

where the Indians could be gathered into a large society, furnished with instruction of various kinds, a form of government, and encouragements to industry in agriculture and the trades, in fishing, dressing flax, and planting orchards.* He wished to make the experiment under the most favorable circumstances, because he intended to found such a town as might be an example for imitation in future attempts of the same kind, a model for all the subsequent communities of Christian Indians, that might be collected.

His own solicitude was increased by finding a strong disposition on the part of his converts to coöperate in the plan. They often expressed a warm desire to be gathered into a church, to enjoy the administration of the ordinances, and to have regular services of public worship on the Sabbath; in short, to be united under such ecclesiastical forms as they saw among their English friends. Their faithful teacher told them, that in their present irregular, unfixed mode of life, they could not profitably or decently maintain among themselves these religious institutions; that they must first be established in civil order, and in the forms of an industrious community, and then they would be prepared to have a church and its

* Eliot's letter to Winslow in *The Glorious Progresse of the Gospel, &c.*, p. 8.

ordinances. This admonition quickened their desire for the proposed settlement; and some of their aged men exclaimed, "O that God would let us live to see that day!"

At length, in 1651, the "praying Indians" came together, and laid the foundation of a town on the banks of Charles River, about eighteen miles in a southwestern direction from Boston. They named it Natick, which signifies *a place of hills;* and thither the Nonantum Indians removed. Some delay and disappointment had occurred before this selection was effected. Mr. Eliot regretted the delay, because he feared it might discourage his disciples and embolden their adversaries. But he deemed it imprudent to begin, until he had heard from the friends of the enterprise in the mother country. He therefore continued to labor patiently and faithfully, as he had done, waiting for the time when Providence should grant the accomplishment of his wishes.

In the mean time he used all diligence to select the best situation. For this purpose he made several visits and surveys. At last he believed himself to be guided to the choice of the spot in answer to his prayers. However he might mistake, as was the propensity of his times, by a too confident estimate of the special interposition of Providence, still this circumstance should be mentioned as an evidence of

the devout habit of his mind. In a letter written in October, 1650, he speaks of having rode, probably early in the spring, to what he calls "a place of some hopeful expectation"; but he found it unsuitable for his purpose. He stopped on his way, retired behind a rock, and there prayed for divine direction. While he was travelling in the woods, his Christian friends at home were also asking in prayer the blessing and guidance of God for him. His company, in consequence of the sickness of one of their number, were obliged to hasten their return. But on their way home, some of the Indians who were with them mentioned a situation, in the description of which he was so much interested, that, taking them for guides, he visited some parts of it. Upon a more careful survey, he determined to choose this spot for the settlement, being the same that was afterwards called Natick. Hence he remarked, that "the place was of God's providing, as a fruit of prayer."

The settlement was to occupy both sides of Charles River. Though the stream was so shallow in the summer, that the Indians could generally wade through it with ease, yet, as the water was deep in the spring and at other times, it became necessary to throw a bridge over it. Mr. Eliot persuaded them to undertake this work. They built a foot-bridge over

the river, eighty feet long and nine feet high in the middle. Doubtless it was a sufficiently rude structure; but it answered their purpose, and, what was quite as important, it gave them the stimulating excitement of that satisfaction, which man enjoys, in seeing the successful result of his labor in a new form.

When they had finished it, Eliot called them together, offered thanks to God, and gave them instruction from a portion of Scripture. He then praised them for their ready and cheerful industry. He added, that, as they had worked hard in the water, if any desired wages, he would pay them; but, as the bridge was wholly for their own use, if they would consider it as a labor of love, he should be glad, and would remember it at a future time. They at once replied, that they should accept no wages, and thanked him for his kind assistance in an undertaking so useful to themselves.* There was in the transaction much of the characteristic spirit of this earnest, artless, benevolent man.

This took place in the autumn of 1650. The next spring the Indians went to their work with spirit and interest. Their town was laid out in three streets, two on one side and one on the other side of the river. Lots of land

* Further Discovery, &c., p. 37.

were measured and divided, apple-trees were planted, and the business of the sowing season was begun. A house-lot was assigned to each family; and it is said, that some of the cellars of these dwellings may be seen at the present day. They built a circular fort, palisaded with trees, and a large house in the English style, the lower part of which was to be used for public worship on the Sabbath, and for a school-room on other days, while the upper apartment was appropriated as a wardrobe and as a depository for valuable commodities. A part of this room was divided from the rest by a partition for Mr. Eliot's peculiar use,—"the prophet's chamber," in which he had a bed. This house, fifty feet long, twenty-five feet wide, and twelve feet high between the joists, was built entirely by the Indians, excepting the assistance they had from an English carpenter for a day or two, who gave them directions about raising the frame and some other particulars.

Canopies were constructed of mats upon poles, one for Eliot and his attendants, and others for the natives, the men and women having separate canopies. These are said to have been for "the hearers," I suppose on occasion of the common discourses in pleasant weather, or on other days than the Sabbath. Several small houses after the English mode were

erected; but Gookin says, the Indians found these too expensive, and, for that reason as well as others, they generally preferred to build wigwams in their old fashion.*

Some mode of government was now to be provided for the new community, which Eliot had collected. On this subject his principles, however strange the form in which they are stated may seem at the present day, were such as the religious character of the Puritan struggle had made acceptable to many pious men at that time. He thought, that all civil government and all laws should be derived from the Scriptures alone. A form of polity, which did not take its model and authority from the word of God, was false and bad. This point Mr. Eliot loved to argue and enforce. We find it frequently recurring in his correspondence with his friends in England, when he touched upon the mode of government he should choose for his Indian converts. He believed that the time would come, when all other civil institutions in the world would be compelled to yield to those derived directly from the Bible. Of his Indians he says, "They shall be wholly governed by the Scriptures in all things, both in church and state; the Lord shall be their lawgiver, the Lord shall be their judge, the Lord shall be their

* 1 M. H. Coll., I. 181.

king, and unto that frame the Lord will bring all the world ere he hath done."

It was his earnest prayer, that the Puritans in England, after the overthrow of the monarchy, might be led to reconstruct their civil state on these principles. But his plan, he supposed, would be more easily effected among the unsophisticated men of the wilderness, than anywhere else. Other nations, he said, would be loth "to lay down the imperfect starlight of their laws for the perfect sun-light of the Scriptures"; but the Indians, being neither blinded by preconceived ideas, nor led astray by false wisdom, would readily "yield to any direction from the Lord," with respect to their polity, as well as religion.

Such was Mr. Eliot's theory, which seems to have been quite vague and indefinite, the aspiration of piety, rather than the result of political philosophy, but still containing the germ of a principle as sound as it is noble. He earnestly desired to see his ideas on this subject carried into practice in the mother country. "Oh," he exclaimed, "the blessed day in England, when the word of God shall be their Magna Charta and chief law-book, and when all lawyers must be divines to study the Scriptures." *

* Eliot's letter in *A Farther Discovery*, &c., pp. 23, 28

How extensive were the views he would have derived from these principles, we know not. So far as the occasion allowed, he applied them in the government of his new town. He advised the Indians at Natick to adopt the plan, which the father-in-law of Moses recommended for the Israelites in the wilderness;* that is, to divide their community into hundreds and tithings, and to appoint rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens. Every man was to choose under which ruler of ten he would place himself; but this arrangement must obviously have been regulated in some such way as to prevent more than the due number being assigned to any one. The rulers of ten Mr. Eliot called *tithing-men*; for so, he says, they were denominated in the mother country, "when England did flourish happily under that kind of government." He here alludes, I suppose, to the institutions established by Alfred, when the invasions of the Danes had thrown every thing into confusion, and he was obliged to provide for the administration of justice by making each division responsible, by means of the decennary or frank-pledge, for the good conduct of its members.†

The polity, which the Indians thus adopted

* Exodus xviii. 21.

† HUME's *History of England*, Vol. I. p. 92, and TURNER's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, Vol. I. p. 327.

by their teacher's advice, was only a municipal government for their own regulation. They acknowledged their subjection to the magistrates of the colony, and appeals were to be made to their authority in all necessary cases. From Eliot's statement, the courts provided for the natives by the Governor and magistrates appear to have been hitherto of little practical use, in consequence of the difference of language, the want of good interpreters, and the trivial and tedious causes brought for adjudication; so that, as he says, they must either have had no government, or one among themselves. They had frequently referred their disputes to his judgment; but he found it inexpedient and unpleasant to act as umpire. He was right in wishing them to have a government of their own to meet their wants and to settle matters of litigation.

Their form of polity being thus fixed, a meeting was held on the 6th of August, 1651, at which the "praying Indians" from different quarters were collected. Mr. Eliot opened the meeting with prayer; he then read and expounded to them the eighteenth chapter of Exodus, which he had often explained to them before, as exhibiting the model of their government. They next proceeded to their elections, and chose a ruler of an hundred, two rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens, or tithing-

nen. Then each one selected for himself the ithing-man to whom he would belong, and ook his place accordingly. Eliot says, it seemed to him "as if he had seen scattered bones go bone to bone, and so live a civil, political life." The sight was refreshing to his spirit. He then proposed to bring them into a covenant, by which they should agree "to be the Lord's people, and to be governed by the word of the Lord in all things." To this proceeding he wished to give a peculiar solemnity, by appropriating a day specially for the purpose.

Before this time, the Indians had inquired of their teacher, why they had never been directed to have a day of fasting and prayer, like those observed by the English churches. He replied, that whenever there should be an important solemnity on hand, such as the work of becoming the people of the Lord by covenant, they would be advised or required to ob serve a day of fasting and prayer. The occasion, of which he had spoken, had now arrived.

There was another reason for this public humiliation before God. A ship, in which the Society in England had sent large supplies for the infant settlement of the Indians, was wrecked at Cohasset on the 1st of September. Most of the goods were saved, but were much damaged. At a lecture on the 10th of the

same month, Eliot informed the Indians of the misfortune, which had befallen the assistance so kindly sent by their friends. He instructed them to regard this as a peculiar frown of Providence, and as "a fruit of sin." In consideration of these circumstances, a day was appointed to humble themselves before God by fasting and prayer, and to enter into a solemn covenant.

Before the day came, the conduct of Cutshamakin caused some trouble. Of this man Mr. Eliot, who probably regarded him with special interest, as being the first sachem to whom he preached, remarks, that, though constant in his profession, he was "doubtful in respect of the thoroughness of his heart." He had been to the Narraganset country to appease some strife among his brother sachems. On the journey he and his companions had purchased "much strong water" at Gorton's settlement, the consequences of which were revelry and intoxication. Though Cutshamakin himself was not known to have been actually drunk, yet his conduct was scandalous, and could not be permitted to pass without rebuke.

Thus the good apostle found himself annoyed in his proceedings by the Englishman's alcohol, which, from the first hour of its introduction to the present moment, has been a withering curse to the poor Indians.

A meeting was held September 24th, 1651, the appointed day of fasting and humiliation Cutshamakin's misconduct had become publicly known, and he was forbidden to take any share in the teaching on this solemn occasion. But he began the exercise with an humble confession of his sin before them all. He offered a short prayer, in which he acknowledged his transgression, implored forgiveness of God, and entreated that the spirit of the Lord might for the future dwell in and govern his heart One of the Indians then prayed, and taught from Luke vii. 36, to the end of the chapter. Another commented on the Lord's prayer. A third spoke from Matthew vii. 19, to the end of the chapter. These exercises they performed in a manner which gratified Mr. Eliot. He then gave them a discourse from Ezra ix. 3 and 9, in which he explained the nature and meaning of a day of fasting. "By the parable of a nut," says he, with his usual simplicity of illustration, "I showed that outward acts are as the shell, which is necessary, but a broken and believing heart is the kernel."

There was then a pause in the services for refreshment, during which we learn, that "a question came, whether it were lawful to take a pipe of tobacco." They soon reassembled, and some of the Indian teachers addressed the meeting. Night was drawing on; and Mr. Eliot

closed the exercises by a discourse from Deuteronomy xxix. 1 – 16. He next recited the covenant,* to which first the rulers, then the people, all gave their assent. A collection was taken for the poor; and, as evening approached, the work of the day, which Mr. Eliot in the joy of his heart called "that blessed day," was finished. These proceedings constituted the first public and formal act of civil polity among the Indians of North America.†

Thus, in the spirit of piety and good order, a town of "praying Indians" was established, with such religious, civil, and economical regulations as seemed to give fair promise of a prosperous issue. It was natural, that the founder should wish some of the leading men of the colony to take note of the settlement. On the 8th of October, which was the next lecture-day, Governor Endicot, the Reverend Mr. Wilson, and many others visited Natick, to see for themselves what the pious industry of Eliot had done for the natives. Soon after their arrival, the usual religious service was attended. One of the best instructed of the Indians discoursed to his brethren. The Governor and others were so much interested in his manner

* This covenant, with the addition recommended by Mr. Cotton, is given in a letter from Mr. Eliot, in *Further Progresse of the Gospel*, pp. 10, 12.

† Ibid., pp. 9 – 14.

and appearance, that they desired Mr. Eliot to write down the substance of his remarks.

The subject of his discourse was taken from the parables of the treasure hidden in a field, and of the merchant man seeking goodly pearls, Matthew xiii. 44 – 46. These he explained with much good sense, and with appropriate applications. The hidden treasure was the knowledge of Jesus Christ, including repentance, pardon, and the means of grace; the field where it was found was the Christian church; the things to be parted with in order to gain it were their old customs and vices, every thing, in short, which hindered them from receiving, with the true spirit, the blessings of the Gospel. The merchant man was the seeker after God and truth, such as the poor praying Indian; the pearl of great price was faith in the Savior, connected with repentance for sin; the riches that he possessed were interpreted to mean former evil courses and manners; and these were sold, that is, sins must be cast away, for the sake of the pearl. On these points he dilated with fervor, and applied them with hearty feeling to the condition of his Indian brethren.

This specimen of native preaching certainly furnishes striking evidence of the Christian advancement, to which Eliot had conducted some of his disciples in the wilderness. The

apostle had not labored in vain, for the true life was in those words; and when they were heard in the deep tranquillity of that retired spot, which till now had echoed with few other sounds than the wolf's long howl, or the fierce war-hoop of the savage, the heart must have been hard and dry, that was not moved by the presence of such a spirit in such a place.

Of this visit to Natick both Governor Endicot and Mr. Wilson have left interesting accounts in letters, which they wrote at the time to the corporation in England. They speak with delight of what they witnessed. They describe with some particularity the objects, which arrested their attention in the new settlement. Mr. Wilson takes special notice of "the firm, high foot-bridge, archwise," and says the Indians were much delighted to find that their bridge withstood the ice and floods of the preceding season, while one a few miles from them at Medfield, built by the English, was carried away. He describes the preaching of the Indian above mentioned, as being marked "with great devotion, gravity, decency, readiness, and affection." He relates, that Mr. Eliot prayed and preached in the Indian language for an hour, "about coming to Christ and bearing his yoke," which was followed by pertinent questions on the subject from his converts. Then the Indian school-

master * read, line by line, a psalm translated by Eliot, which the men and women sung "in one of our ordinary English tunes melodiously."

Wilson and the Governor were too much affected to be silent. They each addressed an exhortation and a word of encouragement to the natives, which the apostle was requested to translate and explain to them. Endicot affirms, that he could scarcely refrain from tears of joy on the occasion. "Truly," says he, "I account this one of the best journeys I have made these many years." He was much pleased with the skill and ingenuity the natives displayed in their various works. One kind of manufacture he found among them, which rather surprises us; "They have made," he says, "drums of their own with heads and braces very neatly and artificially." † The next sum-

* His name was Monequassun.

† The following fact, mentioned by Gookin, will show that drums at that period were sometimes devoted to other than martial uses. Describing the Indian mode of worship, he says, "Upon the Lord's days, fast-days, and lecture-days, the people assemble together *at the sound of a drum*, (for bells they yet have not,) twice a day," &c. — 1 M. H. Coll., I. 183. But the Indians were not the only ones, who were summoned to public worship in this singular manner. The good people of Cambridge at one time had the same practice. Johnson describes one who, in 1636, wandered to that town, and came to a large plain; "no sooner was he entered therein, but, hearing the sound of a drum, he

mer they were to build a water-mill, concerning which the advice of the Governor and other gentlemen was requested.

It was a plan, which Mr. Eliot had much at heart, to qualify the natives to instruct one another. I have already mentioned the Indian schoolmaster at Natick. Endicot and Wilson state, that this man could read, spell, and write English correctly, and that his success with his pupils gave good promise. Mr. Eliot's object was to prepare some of the most gifted, intelligent, and serious of the Indians to become the religious instructors of their own people. He wished to form a kind of seminary from which young natives, well taught and well disciplined, should go forth as missionaries to distant places. "There be several providences of God," says he, "appearing to work, which make me think, that the most effectual and gen-

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was directed towards it by a broad beaten way; following this road, he demands of the next man he met, what the signal of the drum meant; the reply was made, they had as yet no bell to call men to meeting, and therefore made use of a drum." — *Wonder-working Providence*, B. I. ch. 28. Dr. Holmes, however, says there is evidence, that "the church had a bell at first," and then adds, "A drum, for what reason does not now appear, was afterwards substituted in its place." — *History of Cambridge*, 1 M. H. Coll. VII. 18. If the use of the drum was a matter of choice, and did not arise from the want of a bell, the fact is one of curious, however trivial, interest.

eral way of spreading the Gospel will be by themselves, when so instructed as I have above mentioned. As for my preaching, though such whose hearts God hath bowed to attend can pick up some knowledge by my broken expressions, yet I see that it is not so taking and effectual to strangers, as their own expressions be, who naturally speak unto them in their own tongue."

Accordingly he was accustomed to select two of them each Sabbath "to exercise," as he termed it, intending thereby to habituate them to a clear and forcible manner of conveying their thoughts. They were required to rehearse such portions of Scripture as he read to them, and to attend carefully to his expositions as a model. The ability they manifested in these attempts was encouraging, and in prayer they exceeded his expectation. He left to the schoolmaster the task of catechizing the children, and reserved to himself that of catechizing the adults, in doing which he was cautious and tender, lest he should "damp and discourage the weak."

On one occasion he mentions having tried the experiment of these Indian missionaries among their brethren. Mr. Winthrop, son of the Massachusetts governor, advised him to send two discreet men to the most powerful sachem among the Narragansets. He thought

the Indians in those parts might be stirred up to attend to religion, and would have questions to propose, which might furnish occasion for spreading the truth among them. Mr. Eliot followed the advice. He sent a present by his missionaries to conciliate good will. The sachem accepted the present, but treated with contempt the offer of religious instruction. The mission at first seemed likely to prove a failure. But when Eliot's two Indians went among the people, especially such as were somewhat remote from the influence of the leading men, they found more willing hearers, who asked many questions, and expressed a strong desire for instruction in the Gospel. The particulars of the interview are not stated. Many of the Indians scattered through the Nipnet country sent a request to the "praying Indians" for religious teachers. Occasionally Mr. Eliot despatched some of the best and most skilful to different places on short missions; and they returned not without success.

The territory of Natick was granted to the "praying Indians" by the inhabitants of Dedham, at the intercession of Mr. Eliot. The Indians gave the people of Dedham, in exchange, the township which is now called Deerfield. The grant from Dedham was confirmed by the General Court. The original

extent of Natick township was about six thousand acres.*

A large part of this land was "the inheritance of John Speene, and his brethren and kindred." It was desirable, that they should, by a formal act, resign their right in it, before the settlement was finally organized. To this proposal they willingly consented. Accordingly on a lecture-day in 1650, they, in a public and solemn manner, "gave away all the right and interest, which they formerly had in the land in and about Natick, unto the publick interest of the town," reserving nothing to themselves but the wears on the river for catching fish.† Of the land, they only took house-lots as others did. For this quitclaim "they received a gratuity unto their good contentment." Another family made a similar surrender of their property.

It was Eliot's original intention to collect all the "praying Indians" into one community at Natick. But the Cohanit ‡ Indians had re-

* So it is stated in Biglow's *History of Natick*. Dr. Homer, in his *History of Newton*, says it was a "fertile and beautiful tract of about three thousand acres." — 1 M. H. Coll., V. 263.

† This appears from a record, in the handwriting of Eliot, among the archives of Natick, quoted by Biglow in his History of that town, p. 23.

‡ This was the Indian name for the territory now constituting Taunton and Raynham.

served a spot for themselves, where they wished to fix their settlement. Mr. Eliot found, that he could not take that place for the site of his town, without opposition from the English. He therefore rejected it, and pitched upon Natick. This preference created among the Cohanit Indians a suspicion, that the apostle had more affection for his other converts than for them. The influence of this circumstance, together with the death of Cutshamakin,* and the succession of Josias as sachem, so alienated their feelings, that they would take no part in the Natick establishment. They did not, however, relinquish the design of a settlement, but determined to effect it at Punkapog,† the place of their first choice.

Mr. Eliot says, that three towns more were in preparation. He came to the conclusion, that separate settlements would be better for the Indians, than his first plan of bringing them into one. He found, that Natick would not have afforded convenient accommodation for them all, and that, had he gathered the whole body of his disciples there, they would probably soon have been compelled to separate and scatter,

* I have found no notice of the time of this sachem's death. Mr. Eliot's tract, in which the above facts are mentioned, was published in 1655. Cutshamakin's death was then probably recent.

† Now called Stoughton.

which perhaps would have discouraged them at the outset. By living in smaller companies, they would find their condition improved, and be more contented. These happy effects they had already experienced at Natick, and were beginning to experience at Punkapog, "through God's mercy and the bounty of the good people in England, whose love laid the foundation-stone of the work." *

* Eliot's *Brief Narration of the Indians Proceedings in respect of Church-Estate*, &c., pp. 2, 3.

CHAPTER XI.

Proposed Organization of a Church at Natick. — Examination and Confessions of the Indians. — Delays. — Intemperance among the Indians. — Further Examinations. — A Church established. — Affectionate Regards and Kind Services of the Christian Natives. — Misrepresentations as to Eliot and his Work. — Appointment of English Magistrates for the "Praying Indians."

The principles of civil order and social industry had now taken root in the wilderness. The solitary place was made glad. The pleasant sounds of the axe and the hammer were heard in the woods, as well as the cry of the wild hunter. The habitations of order and peace sprung up by the river-side, where men either had not been, or had been only as those who roam in idle vacancy or in pursuit of blood. The germ of spiritual life was developed, where the animal man alone had ruled, and all had been dark and cold. When the apostle visited the spot, his heart was filled with that grateful gladness, which the achievement of a benevolent work kindles in the good man's soul. But he had a still further object in view, to which what he had hitherto done

was meant to be subservient. He wished now to gather his Indians into a Christian church. The civil organization was to be followed by the ecclesiastical.

He approached this point in the progress of his plans with deliberate caution. To form his converts into "a church estate" was a proceeding, into which he would admit nothing that even appeared like haste or carelessness. Perhaps he ascribed a disproportionate importance to this outward act, considered in itself. He may have been too much disposed, as is frequently the case, to regard it as the end, rather than as one of the means, of the Christian life. But when we remember that, in point of fact, this step was looked upon as the crowning evidence of piety, we shall applaud the cautious reverence, with which he guarded against precipitation, in respect to men like his catechumens, of whose religious proficiency or soundness it was so difficult to have satisfactory assurance.

His contemporaries observed and praised his Christian prudence on this subject. It was remarked, that, if he had been disposed to hurry the Indians to baptism, as the Catholics in South America had done, or had bribed them to a profession by giving them coats and shirts, he could long ago have collected hundreds or thousands under the name of churches. "But,"

it was added, " we have not learnt as yet, that art of coining Christians, or of putting Christ's name and image upon copper metal." * When, therefore, Mr. Eliot at length believed there was good ground for proceeding to constitute a church of "praying Indians," we may be sure it was, at least, no decision of hasty enthusiasm.

He was persuaded, that it was time to take this step. As a preparation for it, in the summer of 1652, on the Sabbaths and lecture-days, he was accustomed to require from many of them statements of their religious knowledge and experience. These they gave with much solemnity, and he wrote down their sayings and confessions. He then requested the elders of neighboring churches to hear them, that he might have their advice. His brethren were so much pleased with these confessions, that they deemed it expedient to hold a solemn meeting on the subject at Natick. A day of fasting and prayer was appointed; the names of the Indians, who were to present their confessions, were sent to the churches in the vicinity; and a large assembly came together to witness their qualifications for church fellowship.

This was on the 13th of October, 1652. The morning, until eleven o'clock, was spent in

* The Day-Breaking of the Gospel, &c., p. 15.

prayer and in discourses by Mr. Eliot and two of the Indians. The elders were then requested to ask such questions, as might put to the test the religious knowledge and feelings of the catechumens. But it was thought best to hear their confessions, both such as they had formerly made and such as they might now make before the assembly, and then to propose questions, if it should seem necessary. Five of them were called forth in succession, and gave statements of their religious views and feelings. Many more were ready; but, when these had finished their confessions, the time was so far spent, that it became necessary to close the exercise.

The Indians were slow of speech; and they spoke the more slowly, because Mr. Eliot wished to write down all they said. He sometimes found it difficult to understand fully every sentence, and intimates, with all Christian gentleness, that they were disposed to be tediously prolix. These circumstances, he says, "did make the work longsome, considering the enlargement of spirit God gave some of them." This is not the only case, in which verbosity has been considered as the result of spiritual influence. Of the confession of the Indian schoolmaster, who had probably acquired a greater facility of speaking than the rest, it is particularly recorded, that it was

growing very long and wordy, when the audience began to tire and go out, and there was great confusion both within and around the house. Mr. Eliot was obliged to cut short the schoolmaster's speech, or, as he expresses it, "took him off," and called another.

The assembly found, that, if they heard all, sunset would overtake them, and leave them to find their way home, in a dark, cold night, through the woods. The elders, therefore, advised Mr. Eliot to proceed no farther at present, but to assure the Indians, that nothing but want of time prevented them from listening to all the speeches. This was said, that they might not be discouraged by an appearance of neglect, or by the present disappointment of their wishes respecting a church organization. Eliot had expected the assistance of Mr. Mayhew from Martha's Vineyard, and Mr. Leveridge* from Sandwich on this occasion; but they failed to attend. The interpreters also, whom he had sent for to facilitate the work, did not appear. The whole burden, therefore, came on him. "I was alone," says he, "as I have been wont to be." This was another of

* Mr. Leveridge was noted for his pious labors among the Indians in and about Sandwich. A letter from him may be found in 3 M. H. Coll., IV. 180. A brief notice of him is given by Mr. Savage in a note on *Winthrop*, Vol. I p. 115.

the circumstances, which retarded the business of the day. He gave his converts a word of encouragement, and promised them a second similar meeting. The elders expressed to the apostle a warm approbation of his labors, and strengthened his heart by their kind sympathy.

Our faithful evangelist prepared an account of the transactions at this meeting, containing a report of all the Indian confessions. This was published in London for the information of the Society for Propagating the Gospel.*

* See the tract entitled *Tears of Repentance*, &c., published in 1653. Among the prefatory matter is an address from the pen of Mr. Eliot to "His Excellency, the Lord General Cromwell," which is full of such warm praise of that extraordinary man, as might be called flattery, were it not evidently the offspring of religious conviction. "The Lord," says Eliot to the Protector, "hath not only kept your honor unstained, but also caused the lustre of those precious graces of humility, faith, love of truth, and love to the saints, &c., with which through his free grace he hath enriched you, to shine forth abundantly, beyond all exception of any that are or have been adversaries to your proceedings." This eminently able Leader of the Saints received as much adulation, under the guise of pious speeches, and loved it as well, as the proudest of the line of Stuarts. Eliot compliments Cromwell for "the favorable respect he hath always showed to poor New England," and says, "In your great services unto the name of Christ, I doubt not but it will be some comfort to your heart to see the kingdom of Christ rising up in these western parts of the world." M. Carne gives us a beautifully sketched conception of what he imagines must have been the Pro-

Eliot averred, that he had been conscientiously scrupulous in giving the true substance of the Indian speeches; indeed, that, instead of making them better than the reality, he feared he had weakened them by omissions and abridgment. There is no reason to doubt the rigorous truth of his affirmation. The ministers, and others present on the occasion, were highly pleased with the confessions. Richard Mather, particularly, spoke of them, and of the whole scene, with the warmest satisfaction.

These confessions are certainly valuable, as honest specimens of the manner, in which the inward life of the soul struggled forth in these rude but sincere children of nature. They are, as we should expect, incoherent and broken, full of repetitions and wordy sentences, sometimes extravagant, and sometimes without

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tector's feelings, when thus addressed by the Apostle to the Indians. (Lives of Eminent Missionaries, Vol. I. pp. 41, 42.) But the reader's judgment of the fidelity of the picture will depend very much on his opinion of Cromwell. Mr. Carne makes a statement, for which one would be glad to know his authority. He represents it as an instance of the delusions of the heart, that the Protector "*should write to the man of God* with earnest concern and affection for the perishing heathen, while the blood of his King was scarcely washed from his hand." If Cromwell ever wrote to Eliot, it is a fact of which my inquiries have furnished no evidence. It is to be regretted, that Mr. Carne has not given the letter, or at least his authority for the assertion.

much meaning. But no serious person can read them without feeling a conviction, that the crude minds, from which they came, were awakened to some apprehension of the truths of salvation, and were earnest seekers after the way of God, however confused their conceptions of it might be.

There are some expressions, which seem rather like the mechanical repetition of what they had heard, than the spontaneous outpourings of their own hearts. This was naturally to be expected, and may easily be excused. But there is enough of another kind to show us that divine truth was breaking into their souls, that some of its rays had struck through the darkness of barbarity. A seed was cast into the ground; and, though it might be the least of all seeds, still it contained a vital principle, from which the tree of life might spring.

In some of the confessions there is a peculiar air of honesty. One acknowledged, that he first became a praying Indian, not because he understood or cared for religion, but because he loved the English, and wished them to love him. This impulse of feeling brought him into a state of mind, which resulted in deep and abiding convictions. Another said, in a spirit of sadness, "My heart is foolish, and a great part of the word stayeth not in it strongly."

Mr. Eliot closes his account with the story of two little children, under three years of age, who died showing, as he believed, great "manifestation of faith." While we may regret, that the good man should have been carried so far by his kind interest in these lambs of his flock, as to attach much religious value to such infantile expressions, we cannot but feel, that there is some power of simple pathos in one of the anecdotes. The mother had made for the amusement of the child a little basket, a spoon, and a tray. The child had been much pleased with these toys when in health; but in the extremity of his sickness, when the mother brought them to divert his attention from suffering, he pushed them away, and said, "I will leave my basket behind me, for I am going to God; I will leave my spoon and tray behind me, for I am going to God."

The next year nothing was done towards the formation of an Indian church at Natick. Before Mr. Eliot proceeded further, he wished to receive some answer or information from England respecting the account, which he had transmitted thither, of the doings of the preceding year. No such communication, nor the printed account itself, which he wanted for distribution at home, had reached him in season. Another reason for the delay was, that the "praying Indians" had, in the mean time,

incurred an unjust obloquy, which threw a temporary check and discouragement on Mr. Eliot's proceedings.

Hostilities had commenced between the mother country and the Dutch, which affected the relations of the respective colonies of those countries. In 1653 much alarm was excited by information, received by the Massachusetts government from the Indians, that the Dutch governor of the colony at Manhadoes had been attempting to draw them into a confederacy for the destruction of the English settlements.* It was believed, that such a conspiracy was on foot, and a groundless rumor was spread, that the "praying Indians" were among the number engaged in the confederacy.

The government of Massachusetts gave no credit to the report; but it was sufficiently believed in the community to create a strong feeling of jealousy, and some ill will, towards the Christian natives. Eliot deemed it inexpedient to make any movement about their church affairs, while "the waters were so troubled"; for, perhaps, the minds even of many serious persons might be alienated by the force of popular opinion. We shall find subsequently, in the transactions connected with Philip's war, another more strong manifestation of this dispo-

* Hutchinson, Vol. I. p. 165 *et seq.*

sition among the people to cherish suspicions of perfidy on the part of the Christian Indians

It happened, that after the published account before mentioned, entitled *Tears of Repentance, &c.*, had been received from England, there was a great meeting at Boston, at which the Commissioners of the United Colonies were present. Our apostle, ever watchful for the Indian interest, availed himself of this opportunity to prepare the way for further proceedings at Natick. He proposed to the assembly, that, as they had now seen the confessions of his catechumens, there should be another examination as to their knowledge in the fundamental points of religion. If the result should be satisfactory, and if trustworthy testimony should be received as to their Christian walk and conversation, he inquired whether the organization of a church among them would be a transaction acceptable to Christians. He received an answer expressive of general approbation.

Accordingly, in 1654, Eliot requested the advice and assistance of the elders of the churches in this matter. He proposed, that they should, at a convenient season, take ample time by the aid of interpreters to examine into the knowledge which the Indians had of religion, that they might by personal inspection be prepared to judge and testify, as to their

qualifications to be gathered into a church. The elders consented to the proposal; and it was resolved, that the time should be fixed for a deliberate investigation. Meanwhile a fast was ordered, on some other account, in the churches; and the Indians also observed the day with reference to the appointed meeting.

But, about ten days before the examination took place, an incident occurred, which had well nigh occasioned much scandal and discouragement. By means, however, of strict discipline, its bad effects were obviated. Three of the loose and unsound part of the "praying Indians," who were perpetually bringing reproach on the rest, had procured several quarts of "strong water" from those among the English who were ready to furnish them with the fiery poison, and had made themselves drunk.* There was at Natick a ruler by the name of Toteswamp, a man of gravity and authority. It happened, that he had sent his child, a boy eleven years old, to get some corn and fish at the place where these drunken Indians were holding their revel. One of them gave the boy two spoonfuls of rum, which turned his head. Another put a bottle to his mouth, and made him drink till he was entirely intoxicated. When they had done this, they

* See APPENDIX, No. II.

cried out jeeringly, "Now we shall see whether your father will punish us for drunkenness, since you are drunk as well as we." The Indians soon began to fight, and the boy in this situation lay abroad all night.

When this was reported at Natick, Toteswamp and the rest were deeply grieved. He called the other rulers together to determine what should be done in consequence of this scandal. They sat as a court of judgment on the case, and found that four transgressions had been committed, namely, drunkenness, making the child drunk, reproachful contempt of rulers, and fighting.

In the mean time, intelligence of this shameful business reached Mr. Eliot at Roxbury, just as he was taking his horse on Saturday to go to Natick for the Sabbath. The good apostle was sorely afflicted by it, and said he judged it "to be the greatest frown of God he had ever met in his work." He thought of the scandal it might bring on the cause nearest to his heart, at the moment when he was looking for the consummation of his religious establishment, and his spirit sunk within him. He was the more grieved, because one of the offenders was an Indian, who had served him as an interpreter, and whose aid he had used in translating a large part of the Scriptures. The sin of this man was a hard trial to the evangelist; but he

hoped God would humble him, and he determined that he should not act as interpreter on the day of examination.

Eliot proceeded to Natick, and there found the court of Indian rulers in session. As soon as he arrived, they told him the story of the shame that had been brought upon them, and asked his advice. Toteswamp spoke with deep feeling. He considered, that it was now put to the test, whether he loved the religion of Christ better than his child. He then referred to some Scriptural precepts and examples, and said, "God requires me to punish my child; how can I love God, if I should refuse to do it?" When reminded, that not the boy, but those who had intoxicated him, were to be blamed, he replied, that the child was guilty in not giving heed to the counsel he had often heard to beware of evil company, that, if he had avoided sinners, he would not have been betrayed into drunkenness, and that he deserved punishment.

After some conversation, the rulers retired to deliberate again. At length they gave sentence, that the three offenders should sit in the stocks a long time, be taken thence to the whipping-post, and receive each twenty lashes; and that the boy should sit in the stocks a little while, and then be whipped by his father at school before all the children. These judg-

ments were faithfully executed. The men were brought one after another, by the constable, to the tree used for a whipping-post, and received their punishment. When this was done, each of the rulers addressed the culprits and the by-standers, telling them that the punishment was designed for the good of the offenders, that here they might see the wages of sin, and take warning not to disgrace religion and incur such shameful punishment.

Mr. Eliot appears to have left the Indians to take their own course on this trying occasion, in order that the discipline might have the better effect by being the expression of their own spontaneous indignation at the sin. He returned to Roxbury, and gave an account of the result at Natick to one of the elders of his church. The elder remarked, that the effect of this affair, scandalous as it was, would on the whole be beneficial, since the signal punishment would be long remembered, and do more good than the offence could do harm; a mode of educing good from evil, with which his minister was much consoled for the temporary shame that might fall upon his favorite cause.

It was deemed advisable for several reasons to have the proposed examination at Roxbury, rather than at Natick. It was accordingly held at the former place, probably in Mr. Eliot's

meetinghouse, on the 13th of July, 1654. Eliot despatched letters to such as were acquainted with the Indian language, requesting their presence and aid on the occasion. Of these it does not appear that any attended, except Mr. Mayhew of Martha's Vineyard, who took an interpreter with him. Eliot had given the Indians notice of what would be expected of them at the time,* and advised them to prepare for it with devout diligence. The Natick schoolmaster, who was much wanted on the occasion, was unfortunately detained by illness; and, his disease being pulmonary, it was feared he would not long survive.†

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* They called it *Natootomuhtede kesuk*, i. e. "A day of asking questions." Neal incorrectly gives this as the name, which the Indians applied to the day of the former assembly on the 13th of October, 1652. (History of New England, Vol. I. p. 255.) In this mistake he is followed by Mr. Moore. (Memoirs of Eliot, p. 69.)

† Consumption seems to have been a common malady among the New England natives. Gookin remarks; "Of this disease of the consumption sundry of those Indian youths died, that were bred up to school among the English. The truth is, this disease is frequent among the Indians; and sundry die of it, that live not with the English. A hectic fever, issuing in a consumption, is a common and mortal disease among them." — 1 M. H. Coll., I. 173. And General Lincoln, in his *Observations on the Indians of North America*, says, "Their tender lungs are greatly affected by colds, which bring on consumptive habits; from which disorder, if my information is right, a large proportion of them die." — 1 M. H. Coll., V. 7.

When the assembly had come to order, Mr. Eliot introduced the business by stating the object of the meeting. Liberty was given to every one, in due order, to propose such questions as he pleased. If any doubts respecting the interpretation of the answers should be entertained, it was desired that the words might be reëxamined and thoroughly sifted by the interpreters, so as to leave nothing ambiguous or unsatisfactory.

In one case, and probably in more, this process took place. The question proposed to the Indians was, How they knew the Scripture to be the word of God? They replied, "Because they did find, that it did change their hearts, and wrought in them wisdom and humility." Mr. Mayhew doubted the correctness of the word *humility** in the translation of this answer. It was examined again by the interpreters, and, their version being proved to be correct, Mayhew was satisfied. This beautiful reply, so striking from the mouth of a savage, expresses the principle of that powerful branch of evidence, which arises from the admirable adaptation of Christianity to the moral wants and moral nature of man.

Eliot intended to write a precise record of all the questions and answers, but was too

* The Indian word was *hohpoóonk.*

much engaged in carrying on the business of the examination to attend to it, unless he had interposed great delay. Mr. Walton, one of the assembly, wrote an exact report of them, which, together with Eliot's narrative of the whole proceeding, was published by the corporation in London. It is a valuable tract.* The questions concern all the most prominent topics of religious knowledge, faith, and character. The Indians, according to this report, certainly sustained the catechetical process with much credit to themselves. Their answers generally indicate not only a good understanding of the main points of religion, but sometimes more quickness and clearness of thought, than one would have expected from them on such subjects. To the question, "What is sin?" the comprehensive and discriminating answer was given, "There is the root sin, an evil heart; and there is actual sin, a breaking of the law of God."

We cannot but observe the discretion and fairness, with which Eliot conducted this whole transaction. He seems to have feared his own partiality for the Indians, and to have suspected

* The title is, *A Late and Further manifestation of the Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England, &c.* London, 1655. This is followed by *The Examination of the Indians at Roxbury, the 13th day of the 4th month*, 1654.

himself of a disposition to proceed too fast. He therefore insisted, with the more cautious rigor, upon a strict inquest into their qualifications, and upon the utmost deliberation in the movement. Two meetings had now been held, at each of which the Indian catechumens had undergone no light scrutiny. Still the step, by which they were to be gathered into a church, was yet longer delayed. For this delay Mr. Eliot assigned several reasons. He and some others had much confidence in the sincerity of the Indian professions. "Yet," said he, "because I may be in a temptation on that hand, I am well content to make slow haste in this matter." He felt strongly the necessity of guarding against delusion as to appearances of piety in men, who had so lately been brought from the darkness and barbarity of savage life. Their steadfastness needed to be yet further tried.

In addition to this, there was much of jealousy and doubt, and something of unkindness, among the people of the colony towards the "praying Indians," as well as towards the other natives; and time, it was thought, might efface these unfavorable impressions. Immediate attention to the affairs of the Indians was prevented by a press of other ecclesiastical business among the churches. Moreover, a more urgent want than any other, as Eliot be

lieved, was the want of native preachers and instructers to go forth among the tribes, speaking to them from their own hearts, and in their own way, and meeting them at those numerous points of sympathy, which, the world over, man has with his brother of the same nation. This was an object to which, for the present, the evangelist wished to devote his most energetic labor. He was willing, under existing circumstances, to defer the ecclesiastical organization, which he nevertheless longed to see.

It was not till 1660, that the Indian church was formed at Natick, the first among the natives of North America. I have found no particular account of the proceedings on that occasion. We only learn, that Mr. Eliot baptized the catechumens, and then administered the Lord's supper. Of how many this church at first consisted, I believe it cannot now be ascertained. In a postscript to *Narration of Indian Proceedings, &c.*, it is stated, that "the number examined (at that time) was about eight, namely, so many as might be first called forth to enter into church covenant, if the Lord give opportunity." But this was six years before the church was organized; and during that time, we may suppose, additions were made to the number.

Thus were laid at Natick the foundations of the first civil and ecclesiastical community of

Christian Indians. I have given a somewhat minute account of these circumstances, because this establishment may be regarded as the most ample specimen of the manner, in which Eliot designed to impart the blessings of social order and of the Christian faith to that wild race, whom our fathers found on these shores, when they

> "passed the sea, to keep
> Their Sabbaths in the eye of God alone,
> In his wide temple of the wilderness."

That the general principles of his plan were the result of good sense and of enlightened views, and that the pure spirit of Christian benevolence pervaded his undertaking, no candid inquirer, I think, will question. We may confidently ask, whether the history of missions at that period, perhaps at any period, presents an instance of a similar work, in which was manifested more true wisdom, or more affectionate diligence.

It is no dubious evidence of the excellent spirit, in which Eliot conducted this Christian enterprise, that he secured the hearty affection, and the profound respect of the Indians. They loved and venerated him as a father; they consulted him as an oracle; they gathered around him as their best friend. They would make any sacrifice to serve him, and run any risk to defend him.

Such feelings do not take root and last in the bosom of the savage without good cause The presence of Mr. Eliot, whenever he was among them, spoke to them in that strong natural language, by which a kind and faithful spirit makes itself understood and felt, even by the most untutored heart. They saw him continually laboring, with that self-forgetting charity which was always a bright grace in his character, to make them wiser, better, and happier; and God has written it in the human constitution, that man cannot see this without some grateful returns of affection. He too loved them as man loves those to whom he wishes to do good. He looked through all the outward circumstances of barbarous manners and wild habits of life, and rejoiced to find under them the elements of a capacity for improvement, the germ of the higher life. And he would not despair; for he believed, that no spirit can grovel so low, or be so shut up in darkness, but the labor of faith and patience can do much to raise and redeem it into light and liberty.

In this place may be stated the delight, with which he relates, that when the small-pox raged fatally among the Indians, in the winter of 1650–51, many of his converts hazarded their lives in unwearied attention to the sick. There was an aged paralytic in a loath-

some condition, which rendered him extremely troublesome. His own children became tired of the burden and forsook him. Mr. Eliot offered six shillings a week to any one who would take care of him. None would undertake the office for hire; but some of the families of the Christian Indians offered their services gratuitously, and took charge of him in this way for a long time. Others, who continued the irksome task, were paid a small sum from a fund collected among themselves.

Eliot says, that by speaking a word he could have raised an abundance from his church and other churches for the relief of the paralytic; but he did not choose to check the action of the free charity of the Indians. He wished them to learn, by exertion and sacrifice, in a work of benevolence, how much more blessed it is to give than to receive.

The work, in which Mr. Eliot was engaged, did not proceed without opposition and obloquy from his own countrymen; nor did he personally escape censure. At the close of his account of the examination of the Indians, he observes that his faith in God was a strong support to him against the suspicions, the hard speeches, and the unkindness of some men, who denied the reality of his success, and blamed his management of affairs.

Of the nature of the accusations, to which he

We learn that in England many objections and cavils were started, and many false reports circulated, to prejudice the nation against the alleged attempt to convert the Indians to the Christian faith. Some affirmed, that, after all, there was in reality no such work on foot, or that at the best it amounted to nothing more than to bring some half-dozen of the natives to profess the Gospel by motives of interest. Of these and other reproaches notice was taken by the corporation in England, with an indignant denial of their truth. Richard Mather observes, that both in Old and New England men were found, who declared the whole plan to be only a device for getting money, and the reported conversion of the Indians to be a mere fable. Upon this calumny he remarks, that, if such mercenary motives were at the bottom of the affair, he wonders that the magistrates and elders should have advised the delay of the Indian church at Natick, and not rather have hastened the business with all speed, regardless of any principles, since the report of an organized church among the natives would have done more to win money from pious Christians, than any thing else.

The truth is, doubtless, that the accusations proceeded from those enemies to the colonies, who labored in various modes to prejudice the mother country against the rising settlements

in the western world. I do not find that any definite facts, or specific charges, were alleged. The objections seem to have consisted of those general and random assertions, which are easily made, but have little weight in the mind of an impartial inquirer.

Soon after the establishment of the Indian town at Natick, the General Court of Massachusetts again legislated for the protection and improvement of the Christian natives. The system of judicature instituted at Nonantum appears now to have been renewed and enlarged. It was enacted, that one of the magistrates of the colony, acting in conjunction with the Indian rulers, should hold a higher court, the powers of which should be of the same latitude as those of a county court among the English. The laws passed for the regulation of affairs among the Indians were to be made known to them once a year. These laws related chiefly to the security of the property of the Indians, and to the various ways in which the objects of education, morals, and religion might be promoted.

The first magistrate, who was appointed to the abovenamed jurisdiction, was Daniel Gookin, a gentleman distinguished for piety and intelligence, and whose name is honorably connected with many important transactions in Indian history by his valuable writings, as well

as by his wise and kind conduct.* He was the intimate friend of Mr. Eliot, who found him a very valuable associate and counsellor in his labors. Mr. Gookin received this appointment in 1656. Not long after this, he was absent on a visit to England two or three years. During that interval the Indian affairs were administered by Major Humphrey Atherton. Gookin was reappointed to that agency in 1661, after the death of Atherton, and uniformly sustained the character of a faithful, benevolent, and judicious magistrate, respected and beloved by the Indians. One part of his care was to provide for public worship and the observance of the Sabbath, and for schools and other means of improvement, among the natives.

The Indian rulers and teachers received a small stipend by tithes from their people, who, when they gathered or threshed their grain, set apart a tenth for this purpose, which was carried to some general depository in the town. This practice of paying tithes was introduced,

* A short account and candid estimate of Gookin may be found in 1 M. H. Coll., I. 228–230, written by the late venerable Dr. Freeman, one of whose numerous claims on the grateful respect of the community is the discriminating interest he took in the early history of New England. The Biographical Dictionaries of Eliot and Allen may also be consulted for information about Gookin.

says Gookin, on the recommendation of "good Mr. Eliot, who first led them into this way, not without good reason." Gookin, apprehending that it might "be censured by some, as savoring too much of Judaism and anti-christianism," enters into a defence of the practice.* Probably it was the only convenient or feasible mode by which those natives, who were engaged in managing the education and civil affairs of their people, could be compensated for their time. Mr. Gookin received no pay from them for his services. After he had labored gratuitously for several years, the corporation in England granted him fifteen, or sometimes twenty pounds per annum. He died poor.

* 1 M. H. Coll., I. 178.

CHAPTER XII.

Eliot's "Christian Commonwealth." — His Translation of the Scriptures into the Indian Language. — Second Edition of the Translation. — Remarks on the Work

To the year 1660 belongs the notice of a book, of which we know little, but by which Mr. Eliot drew upon himself a public censure. It was entitled, "The Christian Commonwealth." We gather from Eliot's statement, that it was written by him nine or ten years before this time, and that the manuscript, being sent to England, was there published, whether by his direction or consent we cannot certainly ascertain.

How long the book had been received in New England before it was condemned, we are not informed. But on the 18th of March, 1660, the Governor and Council took it up, and passed upon it a formal judgment. They declared that on a perusal of the book called *The Christian Commonwealth*, they found it "full of seditious principles and notions in relation to all established governments in the Christian world, especially against the government established in their native country"

They were prepared to inflict censure on the author; but, having consulted with the elders of the churches, they deferred it till the General Court should meet, that Mr. Eliot might have time to consider the matter, and retract the offensive publication.

In May, when the Court met, Mr. Eliot presented a paper containing a recantation given under his hand. He owned himself the author of the book; but his expressions intimate, that it was published without his knowledge or consent. He attempted no defence of it; and, in order to make public satisfaction for its errors, he bore his testimony against all those expressions in the work, which created the government of England by King, Lords, and Commons as anti-christian, and which justified the proceedings of "the late innovators." The restored government of England he acknowledged to be "not only a lawful, but eminent form of government." He then declared his readiness to subject himself, for conscience' sake, to any form of civil polity, which could be deduced from Scripture, as being of God, and abjured every thing in the book inconsistent with this declaration.

The retraction was ample enough to satisfy the Court. They took measures to suppress the book, and ordered Mr. Eliot's acknowl-

edgment to be posted in the public places of all the chief towns in the colony.

Such are the facts in the case, as stated by Hutchinson, who adds the sarcastic remark, that, "when times change, men generally suffer their opinions to change with them, so far at least as is necessary to avoid danger." If this transaction be judged without any regard to circumstances, it certainly bears no favorable testimony to Eliot's firmness or consistency. It seems the conduct of a man, who has the weakness to renounce declared opinions for the sake of escaping present peril. But candor requires us at least to remember, that this occurred at a peculiar crisis in the political condition of the colony. The restoration of Charles had just taken place, and been announced in New England. The enemies of the colony were already busy. Complaints had been made against Massachusetts to the King in council and to the Parliament by Mason, Gorges, and others. During the preceding subversion of the monarchy and church, the sympathies of the New England Puritans had of course been on the side of the Republicans.

Under these circumstances, the magistrates of Massachusetts might well be apprehensive of unfavorable suspicions on the part of the English government. They would naturally watch with anxious care against every move

ment, that might swell the obloquy already so perilous. They had presented an address to the King, and another to the Parliament, full of loyalty and allegiance.

At this juncture of affairs Mr. Eliot's book arrested their attention. To permit such a work to pass unnoticed and unreproved might be represented to their disadvantage, as implying a disposition to sanction the sentiments it defended. To pronounce upon it a sentence of condemnation might, when reported in England, tend to allay unfavorable suspicions, and to defend them against the injurious charges urged by their enemies. It is probable, therefore, that, as a matter of state policy and from a regard to the present public good, the magistrates of Massachusetts required Eliot to retract the opinions given in his book. Had it been received in New England during the ascendency of the Republicans, it would probably have incurred no censure.

The same motive may have been considered by Mr. Eliot sufficiently imperious to require of him a compliance with the demand of the magistrates. The safety of the state, which, in a crisis of danger, is deemed the supreme law, might induce him to recant offensive opinions with a facility, which seems like timidity, and certainly was a weakness. If his brethren in the ministry urged him to make the desired

acknowledgment, he would not be likely to treat their opinion with indifference. Might he not, moreover, be biassed by the apprehension, that his political sentiments, if left unexplained, would in the change of affairs in England, bring odium upon his beloved work among the Indians?

Considerations like these afford no apology for renouncing opinions sincerely and conscientiously believed to be true. But they show, that, in a regard to the public good, which was supposed to be at stake, he had a weighty reason for reconsidering those opinions. It is deeply to be regretted that the book itself is not to be found.* Without it, we can

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* It is not known that there is a copy in America, but I find *The Christian Commonwealth*, in a catalogue of books relating to America, which constitute the COLLECTION of Colonel Aspinwall, Consul of the United States at London; whose indefatigable zeal and efforts for many years, in collecting books illustrative of American history, deserve the gratitude of his countrymen. On this subject his library is by far the most copious and valuable private collection in existence. It will be a serious misfortune, should not this library be ultimately procured and deposited in some public institution in the United States.

Nor ought we here to forget, or pass over, the labors of Mr. Rich in a similar walk. His BIBLIOTHECA AMERICANA NOVA, *or Catalogue of Books in various Languages, relating to America*, from the year 1700 to 1800, recently printed in London, and forming a beautiful volume of more

scarcely form a fair estimate of Mr. Eliot's conduct in this affair. A copy of *The Christian Commonwealth*, could we obtain it, would enable us to judge whether it deserved the sentence passed upon it, and would probably give us a better insight, than we now have, into Eliot's political views. If it was indeed "full of seditious principles," he did well to retract it. But we may reasonably doubt, whether the book deserved the sweeping censure passed upon it. It may have been written with warmth, and in a spirit of extravagance; for Eliot not only, as we may suppose, adopted the distinguishing political principles of the Puritans, but, as we have seen on another occasion, had certain visionary notions about a form of government to be derived from Scriptural authority, before which all human institutions must fall to the dust. Upon cooler reflection, he doubtless found some, perhaps many, of his positions untenable. But the man, who had recently flattered Cromwell and his adherents in no stinted terms for "endeavoring to put government into the hands of the saints," should not have allowed himself, in a change of power, to designate them contemptuously

than four hundred pages, is a curious and important contribution to American literature, and the most interesting bibliographical work that has ever appeared in relation to America.

as "the late innovators." *The Christian Commonwealth* was printed in London without date.

Mr. Eliot continued to visit the Christian stations among the natives with unabated industry. At Natick, Concord, Neponset, the region of Merrimac River, and other places, he devoted himself to the oversight and instruction of the "praying Indians," and to the further diffusion of the word of life where it had not been received.*

The course of this narrative has brought us to that period of Eliot's life, when he accomplished a task, which, as a monument of pious zeal and indefatigable industry, has always been regarded with admiration. I refer to his translation of the Scriptures into the Indian language.

On this work he had long set his heart with earnest desire, believing, that, until God's truth could reach his Indian disciples in the written as well as spoken word, the means of making its power permanent and complete would be wanting. If the schools, which in his plan were to be the never-failing attendants of Christian instruction, should effect their pur-

* Hutchinson mentions the notice, which Colonel Goffe, the regicide judge, took of the questions at an Indian lecture, which he attended in 1660. — *History of Massachusetts*, Vol. I. p. 152.

pose among his converts and their children; and if he could then place the Bible, in their own tongue, under their eyes in every wigwam or house, he might justly feel that a strong foundation would be laid for those great results, which were embraced in the anticipations of his far-reaching benevolence. He had as yet been able to communicate to his hearers in the wilderness only fragments and insulated portions of the Scriptures, by translating for immediate use such passages or chapters, as were required by the discourse, exposition, or conversation at the time.

In this way the Indians had, indeed, acquired a very considerable acquaintance with many important parts of the Bible. Their questions their confessions, and their examinations evince a better knowledge of the main points of Scriptural instruction, than one would expect under such unfavorable circumstances. Their teacher must have been a man of no ordinary sagacity and zeal, to have been able, under so many difficulties, to make them comprehend and remember so much of the Bible.

But the best, that could be effected by such means, was necessarily defective and slow. It was of great importance that the Scriptures in a body should be by their side as a perpetual though silent instructer; that they should have the inspiration of Heaven in words

familiar to their ears, to which they and their apostle might always appeal.

From the commencement of his Indian labors, Eliot had evidently kept this great object in view. He had been intent upon obtaining the best assistance he could command in acquiring an accurate knowledge of the language; and his perseverance, under every discouragement, in a pursuit so unattractive, is truly wonderful. In a letter to Winslow, dated the 8th of July, 1649, he expressed his intense desire "to translate some parts of the Scriptures" for the Indians. He considered it as an undertaking demanding the most scrupulous and conscientious care. "I look at it," he said, "as a sacred and holy work, to be regarded with much fear, care, and reverence." His duties in the ministry among his own flock had prevented his bestowing on the language all the thorough and constant attention he could have wished. It would be necessary, therefore, he thought, to have assistants, Indians and others, continually at hand to examine and put to the test his translations. These must be paid. Other expenses also must be incurred. He could not undertake the work with his own means, which were slender. He had a numerous family to be educated; and his labors among the natives at that time were gratuitous. His only regular source of main-

tenance was his salary at Roxbury; and he could not give up his ministry there to devote himself exclusively to the business of translating and preaching for the Indians.

Thus the work, which he had so much at heart, was retarded, as he said, only by "want of money." In 1651 he mentioned, in a letter sent to England, the improvement he had been gratified to find in the ability of the Indian, who was assisting him in his version of the Scriptures; but soon after he said in a tone of despondence, "I have no hope to see the Bible translated, much less printed, in my days."* We may infer that, for several years, the project of the Indian translation was floating in his mind, without any distinct expectation of seeing it realized. Meanwhile he labored at the task from time to time, trusting that the providence of God would at length send the aid necessary to bring it to the desired result.

Nor was his trust in vain. When the funds of the corporation in England became available, here was an object, which was at once seen to be the most important, to which assistance could be appropriated. Their patronage removed the only hindrance; and at their expense the New Testament in the Indian lan-

* Further Progresse of the Gospel, &c. p. 7.

guage was published in September, 1661, soon after the restoration of Charles the Second.*

It happened that the printing was completed, while the question concerning the confirmation of the Society's charter in England was pending. The friends of the Society thought this a favorable opportunity to conciliate the good will of the King. The Commissioners of the United Colonies accordingly prefixed to the Testament a Dedication to his Majesty, written without adulation, but in a tone adapted to win the favorable notice of the sovereign. It was believed to have had some influence in deciding his mind for the confirmation of the charter. But we may be permitted to suspect, that a monarch like Charles was scarcely so much moved by a pious dedication, as by the powerful agency of Clarendon, to whose decision he was doubt-

* It has two title-pages, one in English, the other in Indian. The first is, "The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Translated into the Indian Language, and ordered to be printed by the Commissioners of the United Colonies in New England. At the Charge and with the Consent of the Corporation in England for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians in New England. Cambridge. Printed by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson. MDCLXI." The other is, "*Wusku Wuttestamentum Nul-Lordumun Jesus Christ Nuppoquohwussuaeneumun.*" There is a copy of this New Testament in the library of Harvard College. It has the Address or Dedication to the King, which was not inserted in all the copies.

less glad to leave the troublesome question. Twenty copies of the Testament were sent to England, each of which contained the dedication; one for the King, the rest for other distinguished persons.* In the Dedication the Commissioners say to the King, "The Old Testament is now under the press, wanting and craving your royal favor and assistance for the perfecting thereof."

In 1663 the Old Testament, thus promised, was published, after having been three years in the press. Copies of the New Testament, already printed, were bound with it; and thus was furnished a complete Bible in the Indian language.† To this Bible were added a *Catechism*, and the *Psalms of David* in Indian verse, which were a translation of the New England version of the Psalms prepared for the churches some years before, as has been mentioned, by

* In a letter of the Commissioners accompanying the copies sent to England, they request, "that, two of the special being very well bound up, the one may be presented to his Majesty in the first place, the other to the Lord Chancellor; and that five more may be presented to Dr. Reynolds, Mr. Carrill, Mr. Baxter, and the two vice-chancellors of the Universities, who we understand have greatly encouraged the work; the rest to be disposed of as you shall see cause."

† According to Thomas (History of Printing, Vol. I. p. 253) it had two title-pages, the one English and the other Indian. The copy of this edition in Harvard College library has only an Indian title-page.

Eliot and others. The natives were much pleased with singing; to gratify and improve their taste, these Psalms in metre were affixed to the sacred books.

The Commissioners, in a letter to Robert Boyle, dated September 10th, 1662, speak of the Bible as "about half done." This letter was accompanied by an account rendered to the corporation of the disbursements of the moneys received from them. One item is, "To sundry disbursements for printing the Bible, two hundred and thirty-seven pounds five shillings." The Commissioners say, that the further requisite expense would be uncertain, but could not be estimated at less than two hundred pounds. I know not that we have any means of ascertaining what was the whole cost of this first edition.

When the Indian Bible was thus completed, a copy in elegant binding was sent to Charles the Second. "Such a work and fruit of a plantation," observes Baxter, "as was never before presented to a king." * Another Dedication to the monarch, in addition to that of the New Testament, was prepared by the Commissioners; and both the dedications were inserted in the presentation copies sent to England, but in very few of those circulated in the colonies The additional Dedication, as prefixed to the

* Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, &c., p. 290.

whole Bible, is consequently very rare in this country. Indeed a Bible containing it is scarcely to be found. But a copy of it was fortunately rescued from destruction by the Rev. Dr. Harris of Dorchester. He discovered in a barber's shop Eliot's Indian Bible of the first edition, in a mutilated state, which was in the process of being used for waste paper. It was found to contain both the dedications to the King; and Dr. Harris seized upon it with all the interest belonging to the discovery of a long-lost treasure. He transcribed the addresses, and published them in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.* One of these valuable antiquarian relics thus incurred the risk of meeting a fate as disastrous as that, which the manuscripts of Cardinal Ximenes's Polyglot experienced at the hands of the rocket-maker of Alcala; but both are now preserved beyond the reach of danger.

The second Address, or Dedication to his Majesty, is an interesting document. It is written with ability and with graceful propriety. The Commissioners present their thanks to the King for his royal favor in renewing the charter of the corporation, and thus defeating the attempts of its enemies. They assure his Majesty that though New England has not, like the Spanish colonies of South America,

* 1st Series, Vol. VII. p. 222.

gold and silver, with which to enrich the mother country, yet they rejoice to send to the land of their fathers the Bible in the language of the natives, among whom the Gospel had been planted and propagated, believing this to be "as much better than gold, as the souls of men are worth more than the whole world."

One cannot but contrast with this the different estimate, which the voluptuous and profligate monarch would be likely to make. If the address found its way to the King, and he paused from his career of sensuality long enough to read it, we can almost imagine that we see the sneering look and hear the merry jests it would call forth, as he sat surrounded by courtiers, who gained his favor in proportion as they relieved him from the cares of state, and ministered to his corrupt pleasures. The pious exultation, with which the poor colonists in the wilderness presented this laborious result of their Christian zeal, could hardly have been addressed to one less likely to appreciate its meaning or value. The mere act of legal justice, which Charles permitted, by reëstablishing the rights of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, seems to have been the whole amount of aid, which he bestowed upon Eliot and his fellow-laborers, in any part of their enterprise.

Thus was the apostle's toil at last crowned with a result, which must have gladdened the good man's heart. The Indians had now the whole Bible in their own language; and when he visited their abodes he could, with such joy as none but the Christian knows, hold it forth, and say, "This word of life is now your own."

I do not know, that it can be ascertained precisely of what number of copies this edition of the Bible consisted. Different statements are made.* But the corporation observe, in a letter to the Commissioners, while the New Testament was in the press, that in their judgment "it is better to print fifteen hundred, than but a thousand, hoping that by encouragement from Sion College, with whom we have late conference, you may be enabled to print fifteen hundred of the Old Testament likewise."† It is fair to presume, that the judgment of the corporation, who defrayed the expense of the work, would be followed on this subject, and that consequently the edition consisted of the number stated in their letter Two hundred copies of the New Testament were bound strongly in leather for the immediate use of the Indians.

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* Mr. Moore (Memoirs of Eliot, p. 83) says, "two thousand" Mr. Thomas (History of Printing, Vol. I. p. 245) mentions "one thousand" as the number.

† THOMAS'S *History of Printing*, Vol. I. p. 242.

Of the printers of this edition of the Indian Bible, Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson the former had for several years superintended a press. The latter was sent over from England by the corporation, in 1660, for the express purpose of assisting in the enterprise of printing the Indian Bible. Johnson seems to have been anxious to secure his share of honor in publishing such a work; for, "at his earnest request and for his encouragement," the corporation desired, that his name might appear as one of the printers on the title-page.

They also sent from England a press and types, and furnished all the materials necessary for the printing. Johnson was a good workman, but behaved ill and exposed himself to much censure. He was loose in his conduct, and so idle that he absented himself from the labors of the press more than six months at one time. His unfaithfulness retarded the work, which at best could proceed but slowly; and he was dismissed as soon as the time of his engagement had expired.

This Indian version of the Scriptures was the first *Bible* ever printed on the continent of America. It was not till about the middle of the next century, that the Scriptures in the English language were printed in this country This was done as privately as possible. The book bore on its title-page the London imprint,

and the name of the King's printer. This deception was practised to escape prosecution from those in England who had the exclusive right of publishing the Bible, either by a patent from the King, or *cum privilegio*, as was the case with the Universities.

Cotton Mather, who commonly has something marvellous to tell, affirms, that Mr. Eliot wrote "his whole translation with but *one pen*." Mather is sometimes so loose in his statements, that one scarcely knows how much they mean. In this instance, however, his story seems more precise than credible. If he meant the translation of the New Testament, which was published first, the anecdote may be credited, though this would be a great task for one pen to perform. But it is hard to believe the statement, if applied to the whole Bible. In either case, "we may presume," as has been remarked, if the story be true, "that the pen was not made of goose-quill, but of metal." It has been reported of Gibbon, that he wrote the twelve volumes of the "Decline and Fall" with one pen, which he afterwards gave to the Duchess of Devonshire, who enshrined it in a silver case. Stories of this sort commonly originate in some mistake, or some mere jest, and float about in rumor for a while, till the disposition to attach to a great work every

possible circumstance of a surprising nature receives them for accredited facts.

The first impression of the Indian Bible sufficed for about twenty years. In 1680 another edition of the New Testament was published. Mr. Eliot, in a letter written during that year to the Honorable Mr. Boyle, alludes to it when he says, "We are at the nineteenth chapter of the Acts; and when we have impressed the New Testament, our Commissioners approve of my preparing and impressing the Old."* In addition to the Psalms, a *Catechism* was annexed, as in the first impression. This New Testament has the imprint of Cambridge, but no printer's name.

In 1685, a second edition of the Old Testament appeared, printed at Cambridge by Samuel Green. This was bound with the last impression of the New Testament; and the two parts, thus taken together, constitute the second edition of the whole Bible, though there was an interval of five years between the times at which the two Testaments respectively appeared.† Each part has but one title

* Letter III., in 1 M. H. Coll., III. 180.

† Mr. Thomas says, (History of Printing, Vol. I. p. 262, that the second edition "was six years in the press." This assertion, however, supposes that the printing of the Old Testament followed that of the New continuously, without any delay, which was probably the case, though we are not certain of it.

page, which is in Indian, and the same as before.*

We learn some facts respecting this second edition of the Indian version from Eliot's correspondence with Mr. Boyle. The whole impression was two thousand copies.† It was superintended by Mr. Eliot, who gave a part of his salary towards defraying the expense, and received for the same purpose from the corporation in England, through Mr. Boyle, nine hundred pounds at different times, namely, forty pounds at one time, four hundred and sixty at another, and four hundred at a third If some collateral expenses be included, the whole cost of the impression must have been little, if any, short of a thousand pounds. Mr. Eliot's remarks lead us to suppose, that the first edition was nearly or quite exhausted. If so, and if the number of its copies was what I have supposed, this fact will furnish us with a measure by which we may estimate the demand for the Scriptures among the Indians for twenty years after the translation was first printed. We may presume, that the number of copies, which curiosity might lead people in the colony

* The Indian title of the New Testament has been already given. That of the whole Bible is as follows; "*Mamusse Wunneetupanatamwe Up-Biblum God Naneeswe Nukkone Testament kah wonk Wusku Testament.*"

† Letter VII.

to purchase, or which courtesy might send to England, could not be large.

Eliot apologized to Mr. Boyle for the slow progress of the printing, by alleging the want of an adequate number of workmen, and the interruption of labor among those whom they had, by sickness, which prevailed fatally in the winter of 1683 and the spring of 1684. His heart was saddened by these and other events, which seemed to throw discouragement on the work; for he was then bending beneath the weight of years, and, with the feelings of an old and faithful servant, his soul yearned to witness, as his last labor, the completion of the new edition of his translation.

The affectionate earnestness, with which he dwells on the subject in his correspondence with the English philosopher, has a touching interest. "My age," says he, "makes me importunate. I shall depart joyfully, may I but leave the Bible among them; for it is the word of life." Again he writes, "I desire to see it done before I die, and I am so deep in years, that I cannot expect to live long; and sundry say, if I do not procure it printed while I live, it is not within the prospect of human reason, whether ever, or when, or how, it may be accomplished." He bore it on his heart to God in his devotions, and the anxious earnestness of his soul seemed to be fixed on this point.

The prayer of the good old man was answered He lived to see a new impression of his Bible, and when he took the precious volume in his hands, we can easily imagine, that with uplifted eyes he may have uttered the *Nunc dimittas* of the aged Simeon.

In preparing this second edition Mr. Eliot received valuable assistance from the Reverend John Cotton of Plymouth, who had spent much of his time for several years in forming a thorough acquaintance with the Indian language.* This obligation Eliot acknowledged in a letter to Boyle in 1688.† Several years before that time, Boyle had intrusted to Eliot thirty pounds for the promotion of religion among the Indians. The money had not been expended, perhaps because no opportunity had occurred for the particular mode of using it which Boyle designed. Of this sum, Eliot requested that ten pounds might be given to Major Gookin's widow, who was poor; ten pounds to Gookin's son, who lectured among the Indians; and ten pounds to Mr. John Cotton, "who," says he, "helped me much in the second edition of the Bible." Probably Mr.

* He had a son, Josiah Cotton, who compiled a "Vocabulary of the Massachusetts (or Natick) Indian Language," which was published, with a prefatory notice, by Judge Davis, in 3 M. H. Coll., II.

† Letter IX.

Cotton revised the whole version with him, that by their joint labors a more exact and faithful translation might be exhibited in the new impression.*

One of the Christian natives was concerned in the process of publishing the Indian Bible, who deserves to be specially mentioned. This was James the printer, or, as he was called by applying the name of his occupation to the man, James Printer. He was born at Hassanamesitt (Grafton), an Indian settlement, where his father and brothers held civil and ecclesiastical offices among their brethren. James received so much instruction at the Indian charity school in Cambridge, as to enable him to read and write English correctly. He then served an apprenticeship with Green, the printer, in whose office he assisted as a pressman in working off the first edition of Eliot's Bible.

When Philip's war broke out, the smothered embers of national feeling were rekindled in his breast. He absconded from his employer, and joined the forces of his countrymen against the English. Hubbard † and Increase Mather,‡

* It has been incorrectly said by some writers, that the second edition of the Indian Bible was not published till after the death of the translator, and that it was then revised and corrected by Mr. Cotton.

† Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians, p. 96.

‡ Brief History of the War with the Indians in New England, p. 39.

who speak of him with severity as an apostate, relate, that he availed himself of the opportunity to return to his English friends afforded by the declaration published by the Council at Boston in 1676, which proclaimed, that all Indians who should come in within fourteen days might hope for mercy. James, after his return, probably lived in or about Boston till 1680. He was then employed by Green at Cambridge, on the second edition of the Indian Bible.

Mr. Eliot alludes to this man in his correspondence with Boyle. In 1682 he says, "We have but one man, *the Indian printer*, that is able to compose the sheets and correct the press with understanding;" and in 1684 he remarks, "We have but few hands, one Englishman, a boy, and *one Indian.*" As late as 1709, James's name appears in connexion with that of Bartholomew Green, as printer, on the title-page of the Psalter in Indian and English. From Mr. Eliot's notice of him, we are led to suppose, that he must have been an efficient and valuable workman in printing the Indian version. His acquaintance with both languages would of course enable him to work with the more rapidity and accuracy.

Such is the history of the two editions of the Indian Bible, which issued from the Cambridge press. Mr. Eliot doubtless looked forward with delightful anticipations to the time, when

the multiplied converts to Christianity among the natives would require impression after impression of the volume, on which he had spent so much exhausting but happy toil. One of the hopes, we may suppose, which solaced the evening of his days was, that ages after his grey hairs should have gone down to the grave, this sacred book would continue to be read in the dwellings and heard in the churches of the Indian settlements, far and wide, through New England.

But these cheering expectations were destined never to be realized. The second edition of his Translation of the Scriptures was the last. The printer never was, and never will be, again called to set his types for those words, so strange and uncouth to our ears. A century and a half has elapsed since the last impression of the volume appeared; and it is a thought full of melancholy interest, that the people for whom it was designed may be considered as no longer on the roll of living men, and that probably not an individual in the wide world can read the Indian Bible. It is a remarkable fact, that the language of a version of the Scriptures made so late as in the latter half of the seventeenth century should now be entirely extinct.

Of the correctness and fidelity of Mr. Eliot's version no one has now the means of forming

an exact judgment. It would seem, indeed, from the circumstances under which he learned the language, that his knowledge of it for a considerable time must have been limited and imperfect. Many cases would occur, in which the rude teaching of the natives on a subject requiring so much precision would, we may suppose, fail to satisfy his inquiries; and his own patient observation, skilful comparison, and gradual discovery must have supplied, as they could, the deficiency of the usual helps in learning the structure and power of a new organ of thought.

He felt for some time the embarrassment arising from a defective acquaintance with the language. "My brother Eliot," said Shepard in 1648, "professes he can as yet but stammer out some pieces of the word of God unto them in their own tongue;" and Eliot himself, in a letter to Winslow in 1649, remarked, "I have yet but little skill in their language, having little leisure to attend to it by reason of my continual attendance on my ministry in our own church." But this was said fourteen years before the first edition of the Indian Bible was published, and thirty-six years before the second was completed. During that time his mind had been industriously engaged on the language. By preaching and conversation his knowledge of its construction, and skill in its use, must

have been perpetually enlarged with accelerated progress.

When his version of the Scriptures appeared he was, therefore, undoubtedly as well qualified for the work as any man could hope to be.* The Indians could not have profited so much as they evidently did by his instructions, had he not been able to use their language with propriety and force in spoken communications; and there is no good reason why he should have been less successful in writing. The greatest difficulty must have occurred in the

* Mr. Eliot would, of course, often be obliged, in the process of his translation, to apply to the Indians for a specific term to designate an object, the name of which in their language he had not learned. Tradition has reported a curious mistake, incurred in this way. The story is, that when he came to the passage in the book of Judges (v. 28), where the mother of Sisera is said to have "cried through the lattice," he knew no Indian word which signified *lattice*. In this perplexity he applied to some of the natives for a suitable term. They had never seen a lattice; but he endeavored by description to make them understand what it was, illustrating it by wicker-work, netting, &c. Upon this they soon gave him a word, which he used; but some time after, when he had acquired further knowledge of the language, he was surprised and amused to find, that the word which the Indians had given him for *lattice*, signified an *eel-pot*. Such is the anecdote. That a mistake like this may have happened in his inquiries of the natives, is not improbable. But that the error did not find its way into the printed Translation, I think, is evident; for, on turning to the passage in the Indian Bible, I find that the word, by

endeavor to represent the purely spiritual parts of the Bible in words used by men unaccustomed to spiritual modes of thought. But the language itself is believed not to have been so barren and poor in this respect, as one would naturally suppose; and perhaps few men could have been better prepared to meet the difficulty, than Mr. Eliot. On the whole, his version, we may fairly presume, was such as to give the Indians, in all important respects, about as correct and competent a knowledge of the Scriptures, as translations are generally found to give.

The Indian Bible has become one of those rare books, which the antiquarian deems it a triumph to possess.* The copies in private

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which *lattice* is translated, is *latticeut*, a term which undoubtedly is nothing but the English word with an Indian termination to accommodate it to the structure of that language. To this expedient Mr. Eliot would naturally resort, when he found no Indian word, that could be used to express the object. Besides, in the passage in question, the same word is used in *both* editions of the Translation. Had the mistake described in the story been committed in the first edition, Eliot must certainly have discovered and corrected it during the many years which passed before the second appeared.

* Ebeling, whose books form so valuable an addition to the library of Harvard College, wrote in his copy of the Indian Bible, "Liber summæ raritatis." The following descriptive title-page of the book, also written by Ebeling, may be not without interest to the curious; "Biblia Sacra,

or public libraries are very few. It has acquired the venerable appearance of an ancient and sealed book; and, when we turn over its pages, those long and harsh words seem like the mysterious hieroglyphics in some time-hallowed temple of old Egypt. It failed to answer the pious purpose, for which the translator labored in preparing it. But it has answered another purpose, which was perhaps never in his mind, or, if it were, was doubtless regarded as an inferior consideration. In connexion with his Indian Grammar, it has afforded important aid as a valuable document, in the study of comparative philology. Though the language, in which it is printed, is no longer read, yet this book is prized as one of the means of gaining an insight into the structure and character of "unwritten dialects of barbarous nations," a subject which, of late years, has attracted the attention of learned men, and the study of which, it is believed, will furnish new facts to modify the hitherto received principles of universal grammar.

On this account scholars of the highest name in modern times have had reason to thank Eliot for labors, which the Indians are not left

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in linguam Indorum Americanæ gentis ϖ Natick translata a Johanne Eliot, Missionario Anglicano. Impressa Cantabrigiæ," etc.

to thank him for. While the cause of religion missed, in a great degree, the benefit designed for it, the science of language acknowledges a contribution to its stores. Mr. Eliot translated the Bible into a dialect of what is called the Mohegan tongue, a language spoken by all the New England Indians, essentially the same, but varied by different dialects among the several tribes.* By Eliot and others it was called the Massachusetts language.†

There is, besides, a moral aspect, in which this translation of the Scriptures should be viewed. It must be regarded as a monument of laborious piety, of painstaking love to the soul of man. Would the translator have had the spirit to undertake, still more the perseverance to carry through, a work so wearisome

* Edwards's *Observations on the Language of the Muhhekaneew Indians*, 2 M. H. Coll., X. 86. But Heckewelder makes the *Delaware*, or the *Lenape*, the common stock of these dialects; see *Transactions of the Historical and Literary Committee, &c.*, p. 106.

† The Indian Bible has been an object of much interest among the literary collectors of Europe. See *Bibliothèque Curieuse Historique et Critique, ou Catalogue raisonné de Livres difficiles à trouver, par David Clement*, Tome IV. p. 204. It is there registered as *Bible Virginienne*. Virginia was once a common designation of New England. Mr. Eliot, and his labors in general, are mentioned with great honor by Hoornbeeck, *De Conversione Indorum et Gentilium*, Lib. II. cap. xv., and by Fabricius, *Lux Evangelii*, p. 589.

and discouraging, had he not been animated by the deep, steady, strong principle of devotedness to God and to the highest good of his fellow-men? The theological scholar, who translates the Bible, or even one of the Testaments, from the original into his vernacular tongue, is considered as having achieved a great task, and as giving ample proof of his diligence. Yet such a work is easy compared with the labor which Eliot undertook and finished amidst a press of other employments, which alone might have been deemed sufficient to satisfy the demands of Christian industry.

Among the many remarkable doings of the Apostle to the Indians, this bears the most striking testimony to his capacity of resolute endurance in the cause of man's spiritual welfare. We justly admire the moral courage, the spirit of self-sacrifice, which sustained him in the tasks of preaching, visiting, and instruction, never deterred by the dark squalidness of barbarity, never daunted by the fierce threats of men who knew no law but their passions, never moved by exposure to storms, cold, and the various forms of physical suffering. But, when we represent him to our minds, as laboring at his translation of the Scriptures in the silence of his study, year after year, in the freshness of the morning hour and by the

aper of midnight, wearied but not disheartened; continually perplexed with the almost unmanageable phraseology of the dialect of the barbarians, yet always patient to discover how it might be made to represent truly the meaning of the sacred books; doing this chapter by chapter, verse by verse, without a wish to give over the toil; cherishing for a long time only a faint hope of publication, yet still willing to believe, that God in his good providence would finally send the means of giving the printed word of life to those for whom he toiled and prayed, — we cannot but feel that we witness a more trying task, a more surprising labor, than any presented by the stirring and active duties of his ministry among the natives.

It was a long, heavy, hard work, wrought out by the silent but wasting efforts of mental toil, and relieved by no immediately animating excitement. It was truly a labor of love When we take that old dark volume into our hands, we understand not the words in which it is written; but it has another and beautiful meaning which we do understand. It is a symbol of the affection, which a devoted man cherished for the soul of his fellow-man; it is the expression of a benevolence, which fainted in no effort to give light to those who sat in

darkness and in the shadow of death; and so it remains, and will ever remain, a venerable manifestation of the power of spiritual truth and spiritual sympathy.*

* "Since the death of the Apostle Paul," says Mr. Everett, "a nobler, truer, and warmer spirit, than John Eliot, never lived; and taking the state of the country, the narrowness of the means, the rudeness of the age, into consideration, the history of the Christian church does not contain an example of resolute, untiring, successful labor, superior to that of translating the entire Scriptures into the language of the native tribes of Massachusetts; a labor performed, not in the flush of youth, nor within the luxurious abodes of academic ease, but under the constant burden of his duties as a minister and a preacher, and at a time of life when the spirits begin to flag."- EVERETT'S *Address at Bloody Brook*, p. 31.

CHAPTER XIII.

Further Translations and other Books for the Christian Indians by Mr. Eliot. — His Indian Grammar. — His "Communion of Churches," &c. — Indians at Harvard University. — Indian College. — Towns of Praying Indians.

Mr. Eliot did not confine his labors of translation to the Scriptures. He prepared by the same process other books for the use of his converts. In 1664 he published in the Indian language Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted.* It was a small octavo of one hundred and thirty pages. A thousand copies were printed by Green at Cambridge. Eliot thought this work peculiarly fitted to be useful among the natives by "the keenness of its edge and the liveliness of its spirit." In his correspondence with Baxter he mentioned his intention of clothing this book in an Indian dress. The letter was written in July, 1663; and he had then begun the translation.

He allowed himself a liberty with regard to this volume, which he did not dare to take with the Scriptures. When the phraseology might, if put into another form, be better and more clearly translated, he hesitated not to make

the necessary change; and those parts of the book, which were peculiarly adapted to the condition of the people of England he so altered as to suit them to the wants of his Christian Indians. Of the liberties, which he had thus taken, he gave Baxter notice; "but," he added, "I do little that way, knowing how much beneath wisdom it is, to show a man's self witty in mending another man's work." In the same letter he observed, that he intended to translate for the Indians *The Practice of Piety*, or some similar book, which might serve as a manual for their direction in public and private worship, in days of fasting and feasting, and generally in Christian life and conduct.*

More than twenty years elapsed before this last-mentioned work appeared. In 1685 Mr Eliot published a translation of *The Practice of Piety*, of which in a letter to Boyle, written in August of that year, he remarks, "It is finished and beginneth to be bound up."† A *third*

* Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, &c., p. 293. Baxter himself, having mentioned Eliot's Bible (p. 290), proceeds to observe, — "He sent word that next he would print my *Call to the Unconverted*, and then *The Practice of Piety*; but Mr. Boyle sent him word, it would be better taken here, if *The Practice of Piety* were printed before any thing of mine." Eliot seems not to have followed Mr. Boyle's advice in this particular.

† A copy of this translation, one of the Ebeling books, is

edition, we are told, was printed by Green in 1687.* If there be no mistake in this statement, there must have been such a demand for the book, as would indicate, that it shared in its Indian form much of the popularity of its English original.†

In 1688 Mr. Eliot informed Sir Robert Boyle, that, many years before, he had translated into Indian two small treatises by Mr. Shepard, one entitled *The Sincere Convert*, the other, *The Sound Believer*. These translations had not been published; and he requested his honored correspondent to countenance the project of printing them at the expense of the Society for Propagating the Gospel. He observed that they must be carefully revised, before they could be committed to the press He depended on the assistance of his friend,

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in the library of Harvard College. Its Indian title is, "*Manitowompae Pomantamoonk sampwshanau Christianoh uttoh woh an Pomantog wussikkitteahonat God.*"

* Thomas's *History of Printing*, Vol. I. p. 262.

† The *Practice of Piety* was remarkable for the extensive and long-continued popular favor, in which it was held. Perhaps no book of practical religion, except *The Imitation of Christ*, has passed through so many editions. In 1792 it was in its *seventy-first* edition. The author of the book was Lewis Bayly, at one time chaplain to James the First. He was promoted to the see of Bangor in 1616, and died in 1632. See Biographia Britannica, Art. Bayly, and Bishop Kennett's *Register and Chronicle Ecclesiastical and Civil*, p. 530.

Mr. Cotton of Plymouth, in the task of revisal, "which," he remarks, "none but Mr. Cotton is able to help me to perform." A translation, in a duodecimo volume of one hundred and sixty-four pages, was printed by Green at Cambridge in 1689, which Mr Thomas says was Shepard's *Sincere Convert.** This I have never seen; but I am inclined to think, that *The Sound Believer* was also included in the volume. At any rate, as Eliot made the same request of Mr. Boyle with regard to each of the works, it is likely that they were both printed.

Cotton Mather tells us, that Mr. Eliot "translated some of Mr. Shepard's composures," but does not inform us which of them were published. In selecting these books to be put into the hands of the Christian natives, we may presume that the translator was influenced, not only by their merit, but by affectionate respect for the memory of their author, who had taken a deep interest in the Indian work, but was cut off before that progress had been made, which would so much have gratified his pious feelings.

In 1664 Eliot published the *Indian Psalter* at Green's press. It was a small octavo of one hundred and fifty pages, and the edition consisted of five hundred copies. I suppose this

* History of Printing, Vol. I. p. 263.

to have been a separate publication of the Book of Psalms, taken from the Indian translation of the Old Testament.

Having given an account of Eliot's translations, I shall now take notice of other productions of his pen, which belong to nearly the same period. As early as 1653 he had published a Catechism in the Indian language, at the charge of the corporation. In 1661 a second edition was printed, consisting of a thousand copies; and in 1687 a third or fourth edition appeared. These were all from Green's press. Mr. Eliot more than once, in the course of his correspondence with his English friends, mentions his *Catechism*; and we have seen what use was made of it in teaching the Indian children to write.

He prepared and published an Indian *Primer*, perhaps more than one. The date of its first publication does not appear. It was printed in 1687, when it had already passed through several editions at the expense of the corporation. This little book has found a use beyond that anticipated in its preparation. It has assisted the philological inquirers of the present day to gain a better knowledge, than they could otherwise have had, of the syllabic divisions of Indian words.* It was printed by Green.

* 3 M. H. Coll., II. 244.

The book, which next claims our notice, is Eliot's *Indian Grammar*. Mr. Thomas classes this among the works printed by Green. He describes it as containing about sixty pages quarto, and adds, "No year is mentioned, as I find is often the case with other printers besides Green; but it must have been printed about 1664." * Unless there was more than one edition of the Grammar, which does not appear to have been the case, there must be a singular mistake in Thomas's statement; for in the modern republication of the book, the title-page of which, being an exact reprint of the original one, must give correct information, it appears to have been printed by Marmaduke Johnson, and bears the date of 1666.

Mr. Eliot prepared this Grammar for the assistance of those, who might be disposed to learn the Indian language, as an instrument of teaching religion to the natives, whom he describes as "those ruins of mankind,† among whom the Lord is now about a resurrection-work, to call them into his holy kingdom." The book is prefaced with a dedicatory address to Robert Boyle, and to the rest of the corporation of which he was governor. Eliot

* History of Printing, Vol. I. p. 257.

† This strong expression was used, as descriptive of the Indians, by Mr. Hooker. They are also called "the very ruins of mankind" in *New England's First Fruits, &c.* p. 1

speaks of it with much modesty, as "not worthy the name of a grammar." He says that he had merely "laid together some bones and ribs preparatory at least for such a work." At the close he gives a brief account of the manner, in which he had acquired his knowledge of the construction and peculiarities of this language.

The Grammar was not destined to become so extensively or permanently useful, as its author hoped. But, as Governor Endicot said, in 1651, "There are some scholars among us, who addict themselves to the study of the Indian tongue," * it may be presumed that the book was received with approbation and used with profit by a few of the students of that day. When the interest in the Indian cause declined, the Grammar went out of notice, and its leaves were seldom disturbed. But attention has been recalled to it in our own times by a reprint, enriched with the philosophical

* Endicot's letter in *The Further Progress of the Gospel*, &c. p. 35. But Gookin, who wrote in 1674, says, "The learned English young men do not hitherto incline or endeavor to fit themselves for that service (i. e. teaching the natives) by learning the Indian language. Possibly the reasons may be; first, the difficulty to attain that speech secondly, little encouragement while they prepare for it thirdly, the difficulty in the practice of such a calling among them, by reason of the poverty and barbarity,"&c —1 *M. H. Coll.*, I. 183.

observations and learned notes of Pickering and Duponceau. This appeared in 1822, and constitutes a very valuable portion of the "Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society." * The Grammar itself, and the important annotations accompanying it, afford a rich fund of materials to those, who have the curiosity to inquire into the idiomatic structure of the speech of the American Indians. However humble might be Eliot's estimate of his own work, its philological value is rated very high by its modern editors.†

I shall here subjoin an interesting letter from Eliot to Robert Boyle, by which it will appear that the Grammar was prepared, or hastened, at the suggestion of that distinguished patron of the Indian work The letter is found in the fifth volume of the folio edition of Boyle's Works. As it is not included among the letters from Eliot to Boyle in the "Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society," and is in itself valuable and characteristic, the insertion of it in this place may be gratifying to the reader.

"Roxbury, August 26, 1664.

"RIGHT HONORABLE,

"I am but a shrub in the wilderness, and have not yet had the boldness to look upon,

* In the ninth volume of the Second Series.

† See APPENDIX, No. III.

or speak unto, those cedars, who have undertaken an honorable protection of us. But for sundry reasons, I have now broke out, and have taken upon me the boldness to write unto yourself, Right Honorable Sir, because I do sufficiently understand, how learning and honor do rendezvous in your noble breast, and what a true friend you are to all learning, and also to this good work of the Lord in promoting religion and the knowledge of Christ among our poor Indians.

"I do humbly present my thankfulness to yourself, Noble Governor, and all the rest of your honorable Society, for your favorable protection and diligent promotion of this work, which otherwise might have been sunk and buried before this day; but by your vigilance and prudence, Noble Sir, it is not only kept in being, but in a state of flourishing acceptation with his Majesty, and other great peers of the land; which favor of yours Christian duty doth oblige me to acknowledge.

"I am bold to present some things to the honorable Corporation (according as I am advised) by the hand of my Christian friend, Mr. Ashurst. What doth more immediately concern learning, I crave the boldness to make mention of unto yourself. You are pleased to intimate unto me a memorandum of your desires, that there may be a grammar of our In-

dian language composed, for public and after use; which motion, as I doubt not but it spring-eth from yourself, so my answer unto yourself about it will be most proper. I and my sons have often spoken of it. But now I take your intimation as a command to set about it. When I have finished the translation of *The Practice of Piety*,* my purpose is, if the Lord will, and that I do live, to set upon some essay and beginning of reducing this language into rule; which, in the most common and useful points, I do see, is reducible; though there be corners and anomalities full of difficulty to be reduced under any stated rule, as yourself know, better than I, it is in all languages. I have not so much either insight or judgment, as to dare to undertake any thing worthy the name of a grammar; only some preparatory collections that way tending, which may be of no small use unto such as may be studious to learn this language, I desire, if God will, to take some pains in. But this is a work for the morrow; to-day my work is translation, which, by the Lord's help, I desire to attend unto. And thus, with my humble thankfulness, I shall cease to give you any farther trouble at pres-

* If the translation of this book was finished before the Grammar was printed, it must have lain on Mr. Eliot's hands many years unpublished, since it did not appear till 1685.

ent, but, commending you unto the Lord and to the word of his grace,

"I remain, Right Honorable,

"Yours in all service I can in Christ Jesus,

"JOHN ELIOT."

In 1665 appeared an ecclesiastical tract from the pen of Mr. Eliot, entitled, *Communion of Churches; or the Divine Management of Gospel Churches by the Ordinance of Councils, constituted in Order, according to the Scriptures*, printed by Marmaduke Johnson.

This pamphlet was intended only for private distribution, and has become very scarce.* The Preface begins with the following remark; "Although a few copies of this small script are printed, yet it is not published, only committed privately to some godly and able hands, to be viewed, corrected, amended, or rejected, as it shall be found to hold weight in the sanctuary balance, or not." The object of the tract was to defend the utility of councils or synods, and to inculcate respect for their decisions, as the safeguards of order, discipline, and purity of faith in the churches. Mr. Eliot describes, with considerable minuteness, the nature of ecclesiastical councils, the numbers of which

* I have been furnished with a copy of it by the kindness of a gentleman distinguished for his theological and antiquarian learning, the Reverend Dr. Harris of Dorchester.

they should consist, the mode of electing their members, the business which ought to come before them, and the manner in which their expenses might be defrayed. He would have them summoned, not, as they are at the present day, occasionally to meet particular emergencies, but at regular periods, and as permanent, established conventions for the arrangement and adjudication of ecclesiastical affairs. His plan was large and systematic. There were to be four orders of these councils, or synods; each rising above the preceding in dignity and extent of jurisdiction. They were to be designated as the *First Order*, the *Provincial Council*, the *National Council*, and the *Œcumenical Council*. Of each of these Mr. Eliot points out the constitution and the objects with a precision, which evinces his conviction of the importance of an exact, well-defined system of action. It is difficult to see how the liberty of the New England churches, to which nevertheless he was a warm and firm friend, could have been maintained under such an arrangement. This was a favorite topic with our author. Cotton Mather tells us,* that while Eliot respected the independence of individual churches, he attached great importance to ecclesiastical conventions of delegates and

* In his *Life of Eliot* in the MAGNALIA, Part II. Art. V

messengers from the churches. He not only deemed these synods in a high degree useful, but was disposed to have the results of their deliberations so submissively received, that "he would not be of any church, which would not acknowledge itself accountable to rightly composed synods, which may have occasion to inquire into the circumstances of it." Councils, he thought, should be called to settle all questions relating to heresy, contention, maladministration, and disorder in ecclesiastical affairs.

Mr. Eliot seems not to have been aware, that, by multiplying occasions for councils and clothing them with such authority, he would leave but very narrow ground for the independence of individual churches, and might bring them under a system of censorship and espionage not much better than the rule of "the lords spiritual." It was not till the middle of the second century, that the custom of holding councils commenced in the Christian church. Till that time each assembly of believers was like a little state, governed only by such regulations as were established and approved by the society. Gregory Nazianzen was so much opposed to councils, that, in writing to Procopius, he apologized for his refusal to attend a synod by saying, "To tell you plainly, I am determined to fly all conventions

of bishops; for I never yet saw a council that ended happily." There appears to be no middle ground between a regularly established hierarchy and the unqualified power of self government in each body of worshippers

We learn from Cotton Mather, that Mr. Eliot published an answer to a book in favor of anti-pædobaptism by Mr. Norcott. But I have seen neither the tract itself, nor any other account of it than that given by Mather.

We must now revert to the progress of the exertions on behalf of the Indians. An attempt was made to introduce among them instruction of a higher kind than had before been given. With the view of supplying them with learned and well-qualified ministers from their own number, it was thought that some of the most apt and studious of them might be carried through the process of a scholastic education. Two Indians of Martha's Vineyard, named Joel and Caleb, were accordingly sent to the college in Cambridge. Joel, whose improvement is said to have been peculiarly hopeful, visited his father at the Vineyard just before the commencement at which he would have taken his degree. On his return, the vessel was wrecked on the island of Nantucket; and all on board were either lost at sea, or murdered by the Indians on shore. Thus perished a young man, of whose usefulness flattering hopes were en

tertained; for Gookin, who knew him well, says, "he was a good scholar and a pious man." Caleb finished the college course of study, and took his bachelor's degree; but, not long after Commencement, died of consumption at Charlestown.*

This was a discouraging beginning. But, had it been more favorable, the experiment, if continued, would doubtless have proved a failure. It was too soon to make such an attempt. The natives must have been gradually softened, and one generation after another brought under the regular social habits of civilized life, before they could be prepared to receive academical education with any good effect. The change from their roving, careless modes of life, from the freedom of the woods, and the excitement of the hunting-grounds, to the uniform and measured habits, the mental labor, and the regular discipline of a college, was quite too violent. We are not surprised, therefore, to be told that those, who undertook the

* His name appears on the Catalogue of Harvard College, 1665, *Caleb Cheeshahteaumuck, Indus.* "At the conclusion of two Latin and Greek elegies, which he composed on the death of an eminent minister," observes Mr. Carne, "he subscribed himself *Cheesecaumuk, Senior Sophista.* What an incongruous blending of sounds!" (Lives of Eminent Missionaries, Vol. I. p. 48.) See Gookin in 1 M. H. Coll., I. 173.

life of students, for the most part soon grew weary, and pined for their forests and for the company of their tribe.

But the friends of Indian education still persevered, and in 1665 erected a brick building at Cambridge for the use of the natives, called the Indian College. It was large enough to accommodate about twenty students. The expense, which was between three and four hundred pounds, was defrayed by the corporation in England. This edifice, however, failed to answer the purpose for which it was designed, "not being improved," says Gookin, "for the ends intended, by reason of the death and failing of Indian scholars." Among other uses, it was converted into a printing-office; and in it was set up Green's press for printing Mr. Eliot's Translation of the Bible.

Meanwhile the apostle continued his missionary work with unremitted zeal. Of his visits and preaching at the several Indian stations between the time when the printing of his Bible was begun, and the war with Philip, we have no circumstantial account. But an idea may be formed of the progress of the work, and of the amount of good effected, by the notice which Gookin, who wrote in 1674, has left of the "Indian praying towns." *

* 1 M. H. Coll., I. 180–196.

At Natick Mr. Eliot, in addition to his other instructions, set up "a lecture in logic and theology," as it was designated. This was attended once a fortnight during the summer. He alludes to it in a letter to Boyle in 1670, when he says, "Your Honor will see, that I have undertaken and begun a kind of academical reading unto them in their own language, thereby to teach the teachers and rulers, and all that are desirous of learning." We cannot suppose, that he purposed, or expected, to indoctrinate the natives in the technical forms or subtile distinctions of the logic of the schools. The object of his lectures was to accustom them, in some degree, to clear and methodical habits of thought, that they might arrange and express their ideas on religious subjects with propriety. These instructions seem to have been designed chiefly for such as were to be trained to the office of teaching and expounding. In aid of this design, Eliot published, in 1672, an *Indian Logick Primer*, which was printed by Johnson at Cambridge. Natick became a kind of seminary, from which teachers went forth among their brethren at the other stations.

About two miles from Wamesit,* near Pautucket Falls, was the wigwam of Wannalancet

* Tewkesbury.

a sachem of much distinction, the eldest son of Passaconaway, who has been before mentioned. Wannalancet, though grave in his character and friendly to the English, had not been persuaded to embrace Christianity, but was willing to hear preaching. His reluctance to yield himself a convert was thought to arise from the opposition to such a step, which he found among his relations and chief men. But in May, 1674, his aversion was overcome. He listened to Mr. Eliot's preaching, and, after the discourse, signified to him his change of mind by the following address, which is an apt illustration of the Indian love of figurative speech. "You have been pleased in your abundant goodness, for four years past, to exhort me and my people, with much persuasion, to pray to God. I acknowledge, that I have been used all my life to pass up and down in an old canoe; and now you wish me to make a change, to leave my old canoe and embark in a new one, to which I have been unwilling; but now I give up myself to your advice, enter into a new canoe, and do engage to pray to God hereafter." One of the company present, pursuing the figure, desired Mr. Eliot to say to Wannalancet, that "while he went in his old canoe, though the stream was quiet, the end would be destruction; but that now he had embarked in the new canoe, though he should

meet storms and rough passages, yet he must take courage and persevere, for the end would be everlasting rest." After this, Wannalancet became faithful and constant, for the most part, in the observance of religious duties, though he was deserted by many of his people.

There were seven *old towns* of "praying Indians," so called because they were first settled in civil and religious order.

Besides these, there were in the Nipmuck country seven "new praying towns," so designated because they were more recently brought into the profession of the Christian faith They were on the territory now occupied by the towns of Ward, Oxford, Uxbridge, Dudley, and Woodstock.

In 1673 and 1674, Eliot and Gookin journeyed through this region, to scatter the seed of divine truth, to confirm the converted, to settle religious teachers, and to establish civil order. On this journey, the faithful evangelist spent the day in travelling through pathless woods and in preaching; the evening he devoted to conversation in the wigwams, when questions were heard and answered. The heart of the good man glowed within him, as the children of the forest gathered around him, and, in the familiar confidence inspired by his unwearied affection, gazed on his countenance with curious wonder, and sought instruction

from his lips. At one place, he preached from the passage, "Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in." Perhaps never, under the splendid arches or the beautiful carved work of an ancient cathedral, did these words inspire more of heartfelt eloquence, than when this holy man discoursed of them in the forest sanctuary of the wilderness.

The travellers proceeded to other places. Religious teachers and civil officers were appointed or confirmed. These were charged solemnly "to be diligent and faithful for God, zealous against sin, and careful in sanctifying the Sabbath." On the 18th of September, 1674, after prayer, singing, and religious exhortation, Eliot and Gookin took leave of these new settlements, went to Marlborough, and thence returned to their own homes.

Within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts there were, at this time, two Indian churches, fourteen towns of "praying Indians," which were considered as established, and two others in a state of preparation. The number of Indians in this whole territory was computed by Gookin to be eleven hundred.*

* The following estimate of the whole number of "praying Indians" in 1674, at other places, as well as those referred to above, is taken from Judge Davis's note to

We have already seen, that Mr. Eliot's care extended beyond the Massachusetts line. He sometimes travelled into the jurisdiction of Plymouth and Martha's Vineyard. These visits, as well as his letters and example, animated his fellow-laborers in these places to prosecute the cause of religion among the natives. In 1670, Eliot and Cotton of Plymouth went to Martha's Vineyard, and there, in connexion with Mr. Mayhew, ordained for pastor of the Indian church Hiacoomes, the first converted native. This church, for purposes of convenience, was soon divided into two, one of which had a pastor, the other a teacher, and both ruling elders. Soon after this, an Indian church was gathered at Mashpee, and Mr. Bourne ordained its pastor. His ordination was solemnized by Mr. Eliot and Mr. Cotton, with delegates from the Natick church and that of the Vineyard.

A letter is extant written by Mr. Eliot, in

Morton's Memorial (pp. 407 – 415), where may be seen further statements of the situation and number of the Christian natives at subsequent periods.

In Massachusetts, under the care of Mr. Eliot, . . .	1100
In Plymouth Colony, by Mr. Bourne's and Cotton's account,	530
Additional number, under Cotton's care in Plymouth Colony,	170
On Nantucket	300
On Martha's Vineyard and Chappaquiddick, under the care of the Mayhows, ...	1500
Total	3600

August, 1673, to a friend, who had asked for information as to the state of Christianity among the Indians generally.* Eliot states, that six churches had been gathered among them, one at Natick, one at Hassanamesit,† one at Mashpee, two at Martha's Vineyard, and one at Nantucket. These churches had been formed in the same way as among the English. They were all furnished with religious officers, except the church at Natick, where, says Mr. Eliot, "in modesty they stand off, because, so long as I live, they say there is no need." This favorite church, the first planted by his special care and labor, might well regard him as their only spiritual father. There is something touching in their affectionate reverence for the apostle, which would allow them to receive no other teacher, while his hallowed voice could be heard.

In these churches of the natives, the ordinances were administered, and discipline exercised, as in all other churches. Mr. Eliot vindicated his converts from every suspicion of heresy, with a zeal that is amusing, though it was so sincere; for, as yet, how or where would the poor Indians be likely to become heretics? He endeavored to persuade his brethren and the elders in the churches, that

* 1 M. H. Coll., X. 124. † Grafton.

it was their duty to receive these Christians of the wilderness into their communion. From his manner of expression, it would seem, that some reluctance had been manifested towards extending this fellowship to the Indians. But Cotton Mather tells us, that, at Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, "the Christian English in the neighborhood, who would have been loth to have mixed with them in a civil relation, yet have gladly done it in a sacred one."

CHAPTER XIV.

Letter from Eliot to Governor Prince. — Sufferings and Conduct of the Christian Indians during Philip's War, and Eliot's Solicitude on their Behalf.

Of the troubles, which preceded the war with Philip, Mr. Eliot was no inattentive observer. Those who are acquainted with Indian history will recollect, that, before that war broke out, much alarm had been excited in Plymouth Colony by some threatening indications from that spirited and restless chieftain. Fears were entertained, that the Indians about Plymouth might be induced to join his standard, and constitute an alliance formidable to the security and peace of the colony. The government of Plymouth took measures to suppress or prevent such movements. The natives in several places had been required to surrender their arms. Hostile appearances for the present ceased; for Philip at length renewed the covenant of peace and friendship with the English, and agreed to resign his arms to be kept by them as long as they should find reason for so doing.*

* Hutchinson, Vol. I. p. 254 *et seq.*, and Drake's *Book of the Indians*, B. III. p. 18.

In relation to this subject, Mr. Eliot in June, 1671, wrote a letter of advice to Mr. Prince, Governor of Plymouth, which I shall here insert, and which I believe has never before been published. The address is, "To the Right Worshipful Mr. Prince, Governor of Plimouth"

"Sir,

"Let not my boldnesse in medling with your state matters be an offence unto you; and, this request being humbly premised, I shall be bold to suggest my poor advice, that stoute people, who refuse to render their armes, be pursued with speed and vigor until they stoop, and quake, and give up (at least) some of their armes; which done, immediately give them to them again; and first Phillip his, the sooner the better. My reasons are; first, lest we render ourselves more afraid of them and their guns than indeed we are, or have cause to be; alass, it is not the gun, but the man, nor indeed is it the man, but our sin, that we have cause to be afraid of; secondly, your so doing will open an effectual door to their entertainment of the Gospel. Our worthys, by the assistance of the Lord, have vigorously prosecuted and executed the murderer. This act of eminent justice hath and will strike more terror into them than ten disarmings, though in due season that is a prudent way too. But I shall

give you no further trouble at present, but committing you to the Lord and to the word of his grace, I remain

"Your Worship's to serve you
"in the Lord Jesus,
"JOHN ELIOT *

"*Roxb., this 16th of the 4th*, '71."

This advice seems to have been given with the best intentions, and, however strange it might seem to men alarmed as the Plymouth

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* Mr. Eliot's autograph of the above letter is in the possession of Judge Davis of Boston. To the kindness of that distinguished jurist and scholar I am indebted for permission to take this copy. Judge Davis has done me the favor to accompany his transmission of the letter with the following remarks. "Mr. Eliot's advice must have appeared a little odd to the statesmen of the day; but Governor Prince appears to have yielded to it in part, or at least to have pursued the course recommended, in reference to some of the Indians. (See his letter to *Goodman Cooke*, August 24th, 1671, 1 M. H. Coll., V. 196.) The Indians there intended were, I suppose, those in the neighborhood of Dartmouth."

With regard to *the murderer*, to whom Eliot alludes in the letter, Judge Davis gives the following explanation. "Hutchinson in a note (Vol. I. p. 258) speaks of 'an Englishman shot through the body in Dedham woods in the spring of the year 1671,' and says, that 'an Indian, the supposed murderer, was taken and imprisoned.' 'But,' adds Hutchinson, 'whether he was executed or not, I do not find; but it kept the colony in an alarm for some time.' Is it not probable, that this is 'the murderer' mentioned in Eliot's letter?"

people then were, it was probably not injudicious. It may be questioned whether it was wisely done to disarm the Indians, or at least to detain their guns. The second of the reasons, which Mr. Eliot gives for his opinion, shows that he never lost sight of the interests of his favorite cause.

The work of planting Christianity among the Indians had at this period reached its highest state of prosperity. It had received its leading impulse from the hands of one devoted individual. From humble beginnings, through difficulties and discouragements, it had, for nearly thirty years, gradually gained strength and found favor, till he who made his first doubtful and almost hopeless visit to the wigwams of Nonantum, could range over a wide region, or send his thoughts to far distant hills and forests, with the cheering consciousness, that God had blessed his toil, and that fountains of life were opened to refresh the waste places. It was to the aged apostle a season of such happiness, as is known only to the heart that gives itself up, as an offering on the altar of a righteous cause. But the scene was to be changed. It is a melancholy thought, that the close of this good man's life should have been saddened by seeing his long cherished hopes overcast with a cloud of discouragement. Philip's war, which spread such terror

and devastation through some parts of New England, smote heavily upon the Christian enterprise among the natives, and filled the hearts of its ardent friends with that distress, which the good feel, when the anticipations of pious benevolence are defeated.

Mr. Eliot was seventy-one years old, when the war with Philip began, but was still strong, active, and full of the Christian zeal which had animated his earlier days. It does not fall within my province to discuss the character of Philip. That he was an able, bold, and astute chief, no one can deny. His lofty and regal spirit was strikingly exemplified in his answer to an ambassador, sent to him by the Governor of Massachusetts. "Your Governor," said he, "is but a subject; I will not treat except with my brother, King Charles of England." * Like his father, Massassoit, he would neither receive the Christian religion himself, nor permit it to be introduced among his subjects. We are informed, that when Mr. Eliot once offered to preach Christianity to him and his people, he rejected the offer with disdain, and, taking hold

* We learn this from a tract entitled, "The Present State of New England with respect to the Indian War, &c.; faithfully composed by a Merchant of Boston, and communicated to his Friend in London;" first printed at London in 1675, and republished at Boston in 1833, by S. G. Drake. See p. 68.

of a button on the apostle's coat, told him he cared no more for the Gospel than for that button. It seems, however, that a hope of his conversion was at one time entertained. So, at least, Gookin testifies, and affirms that he himself had heard him use expressions, which implied, that his conscience was touched by good influences.* But, if such soft moments of relenting ever came, they were soon banished by the habitually strong passions of the wild sachem. The voice of holy persuasion which reached the hearts of so many in the forest, could not subdue him. The war-cry, which rang through the woods and echoed from the hills, was more pleasant music to his ear, than all the eloquent words of peace and love which the good evangelist could utter.

When the war commenced, it was to be expected that those Indians, who were supposed to be united with the English by religious sympathy, would find little mercy at the hands of Philip. He might hope to win or frighten some of them to his side; but for the most part he could regard them only with feelings of hostility. The annoyance and the injury, which might come from this quarter, were to be anticipated as the natural results of a state of war. But the Christian Indians incurred

* 1 M. H. Coll., I. 200.

another and more trying calamity from a source, to which they looked only for kindness. The English soon began to regard them with stern suspicion and angry apprehension. There was little or no confidence in their fidelity. It was believed, that they would, at any moment, by craft or open alliance, render all the assistance in their power to the hostile Indians. This became the popular sentiment; and under its influence Mr. Eliot's hapless converts suffered the harshest injustice. It was their hard fate to have the good will of neither party in the war; to be treated by Philip as allies of the English, and to be sharply suspected by the English of a secret but determined leaning towards Philip.*

* My principal guide in this part of my narrative has been a very interesting manuscript, written by Gookin, to which I have already occasionally referred. Its title is, *An Historical Account of the Doings and Sufferings of the Christian Indians in New England in the Years* 1675, 1676, 1677. *Impartially drawn by One well acquainted with that Affair, and presented unto the Right Honorable the Corporation residing in London, &c.* It is preceded by Gookin's "Epistle Dedicatory to the Honorable Robert Boyle," and by a letter from Mr. Eliot to Gookin "upon his perusal of it." Eliot testifies to the accuracy of the narrative. "I do not see," he says, "that any man or orders of men can find just cause of excepting against (human frailties ex cepted) any thing that you have written."

This manuscript was loaned to Mr. Sparks by the Rev. Mr. Campbell of Pittsburg, who procured it in England.

The circumstances of the time account for this inflamed state of popular feeling against the Christian Indians. A fierce and powerful enemy was ravaging the country. The flames of burning villages glared in the darkness of midnight; the scalping-knife, the arrow, and firearms were lurking in ambush by day. In the storms of winter, and amidst the sunshine of summer, an insidious and cruel warfare was ever in progress, and dismay struck upon every settlement. The passions of the people were naturally exasperated to the highest pitch against those, the dread of whose incursions disturbed the slumbers of night, and surrounded the labors of the field with peril. The usual epithets applied to the savage foe were "wolves, blood-hounds, fiends, devils incarnate"; and Increase Mather uttered the common sentiment, when he said, that the English did not "cease crying to the Lord against Philip, until they had prayed the bullet into his heart."

Under intense alarm, men are apt to lose sight of the distinction between justice and

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and allowed Mr. Sparks to have a copy taken. It is now about to be published by the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester. It contains much that cannot be learned from any other source, and, though perhaps the narrative is sometimes colored by the partialities of the writer, is doubtless in all important points faithful and correct.

injustice, between right and wrong. The peo ple in general, perhaps, were but little ac quainted with the Praying Indians; and if they had been, they might easily believe that their adoption of the Christian religion would not effectually repress the impulse to return, in the hour of warlike excitement, to their brethren of the woods, from whom they had been separated only by the slender line of an imperfect civilization. These men had also been among the English; and, knowing their habits and their force, might be the more dangerous, should they go over to the enemy. Besides, suspicion, which under any circumstances would be likely to turn a watchful and keen eye upon them, was inflamed by the fact, that some did leave their settlements, and join the arms of Philip,* though by far the greater part were true to the English interest. These circumstances, while they do not justify, may account for that blind excitement, which would not stop to separate between the innocent and the guilty, but involved all the Praying Indians

* These were almost wholly from what were called the *new praying towns*, who, says Gookin, "being but raw and lately initiated into the Christian profession, most of them fell off from the English and joined with the enemy in the war, some few excepted." The old towns remained faithful, but the indignation of popular feeling did not attend to the distinction.

in one common proscription. From the indiscriminate resentment, however, which pervaded the mass of the community, the magistrates and government were, for the most part, exempt; but they were seldom able to stem the violence of the popular current.

On many occasions the Christian Indians rendered good and faithful service during the war, and were ambitious of acquitting themselves to the satisfaction of the English. In July, 1675, Captain Hutchinson and Captain Wheeler were sent to treat with the Indians in the Nipmuck country. Three Christian Indians accompanied the expedition, as guides and interpreters, and so faithfully performed their duties, that the most ample testimony to their good conduct was given by the commanding officers. One of them was taken prisoner. But, notwithstanding their services, the two who returned were treated with so much harshness by the English, that "for want of shelter, protection, and encouragement," as Gookin affirms, "they were in a manner constrained to fall off to the enemy." One of them was killed by a scouting party of Praying Indians. The other was taken prisoner, sold as a slave in Boston, and sent to Jamaica. By the earnest intercession of Mr. Eliot, he was brought back, but still held in slavery. His wife and

his two children, who were also in captivity, were redeemed by Mr. Eliot.

In August, 1675, a number of the Christian Indians at Marlborough were seized and sent to Boston for trial, on the charge of having been concerned in the murder of several persons at Lancaster. The accusation was groundless, and the whole affair was believed to have been a malicious proceeding. During the trial, Eliot and Gookin made every effort in their power to save these men from being sacrificed to popular fury, and thereby brought upon themselves the indignation of those, whose passions had heated them into a thirst for the blood of the Indians. The venerable evangelist and the faithful magistrate were reviled, and subjected to the most injurious suspicions.

An anecdote may illustrate this state of feeling. Mr. Eliot was once on a sailing excursion, when the boat in which he had taken passage was run down and overset by a large vessel. Eliot was in great danger of sinking to a watery grave, but by strenuous effort was happily rescued. This happened in the time of the Indian war, when the excitement against him was high; and one man, full of the popular fury, hearing how narrowly Mr. Eliot had escaped, said he wished he had been drowned.*

* Life of Eliot in the MAGNALIA, Part I. Article V

Gookin was publicly insulted, while acting as a member of the court. He said on the bench, that he was afraid to walk in the streets.

Facts like these mark the exasperated state of popular feeling on this subject, and prove that it required no common firmness in Mr. Eliot and his friend, at such a time, to plead the cause of those whom they supposed to be innocent. They were ever on the alert to protect their defenceless converts, and, with a courage inspired by Christian principle, shrunk from no danger or obloquy. Their judgment may have been in some instances biassed by the partiality of zeal; but their moral intrepidity was worthy of all praise.

In consequence of the prevalent excitement, the court passed an order, that the Indians at Natick should be forthwith removed to Deer Island, having first obtained the consent of the owner of that island.* Captain Thomas Prentiss, with a party of horse, was appointed to superintend their removal. He took a few men to assist, and five or six carts to carry away such commodities as would be indispensable for the Indians. When he arrived at Natick, and made known to them the pleasure of the court, they sadly but quietly submitted, and were soon ready to follow him. Their number

* Mr. Samuel Shrimpton, of Boston.

was about two hundred, including men, women, and children. They were ordered to a place called *The Pines* on Charles River, two miles above Cambridge, where boats were to be in readiness to take them to the island. At this place, their spiritual father and ever faithful friend, Mr. Eliot, met them, to say a few kind and consoling words before they embarked. While he sympathized in their sorrows, he exhorted them to be patient under suffering and firm in their faith, reminding them that through much tribulation they must enter into the kingdom of God.

There is an affecting moral beauty in this scene. That settlement, towards which the heart of the good apostle had yearned alike through seasons of discouragement and of hope; the foundations of which were laid by his own hands and hallowed by his own prayers; where the tree of life, as he believed, was firmly rooted in the wilderness; where, by the patient labor of years, he had made the word of God understood, and had reared civil and social institutions; that settlement, which probably next to his own home he loved better than any thing else on earth, is suddenly broken up, in consequence of a misguided excitement, and its inhabitants are hurried away from their fields and homes into what is little better than an imprisonment. At the hour of their depar-

ture, the venerable man, on whose head more than seventy winters had shed their frosts, stands with them on the bank of the river to pour forth his prayers for them, to mingle his tears with theirs, and to teach them the lesson, not of resentment against man, but of submission to God, the lesson of meekness and of strong endurance. The whole company present were deeply affected to see the quiet resignation "of the poor souls, encouraging and exhorting one another with prayers and tears." On the 30th of October, 1675, about midnight, when the tide served, they embarked in three vessels and were transported to their destined confinement on Deer Island.

The slightest occurrence was enough to kindle the passions of the English into outrage. A barn in Chelmsford, full of hay and grain, was burnt to the ground. This was afterwards discovered to have been done by some skulking Indians of the enemy's party. But the inhabitants of the place at once imputed the crime to the Christian Indians of Wamesit, and in the heat of resentment, without further inquiry, determined on revenge. Fourteen men from Chelmsford went with arms to their wigwams, and called to them to come out. When they, suspecting no harm, appeared, two of the men fired upon them. One lad was killed, and five women and children were wounded. The

murderers were soon arrested and brought to trial; but were acquitted by a jury acting under the influence of the popular exasperation. The Wamesit Indians were so frightened by this brutal assault, that most of them fled from their settlement far into the forests, and remained there a long time exposed to cold and hunger.

Attempts were made to induce them to return; but the remembrance of the day when their wives and children were shot down like wild beasts was still fresh, and they refused. They, however, sent by the messengers a letter, addressed to Lieutenant Henchman of Chelmsford, in which there was a passage, which must have brought a blush to the faces of men calling themselves Christians. "We are not sorry," they said, "for what we leave behind; but we are sorry, that the English have driven us from our praying to God, and from our teacher. We did begin to understand a little of praying to God." But at length winter and hunger drove them back to their wigwams.

When their return was nade known at Boston, a committee, consisting of Mr. Eliot, Major Gookin, and Major Willard, was appointed to visit them with a message of friendship and encouragement, and to persuade the people of Chelmsford into a better temper towards them

The committee discharged their duty promptly by doing their utmost to restore quiet and amity. They were also directed to visit Concord, where the Nashobah Indians were then living. These they placed under the care of Mr. John Hoare, their firm friend, who allowed them to establish their wigwams on his grounds near his house.

The sachem Wannalancet, who has been before mentioned, had retired to some distance from his usual residence on the Merrimac; but he continued friendly to the English. In the autumn of 1675, Messrs. Eliot and Gookin were sent on an embassy to urge him to return to his accustomed place of residence. In a letter to Boyle, October, 1677, Mr. Eliot writes thus; "We had a sachem, of the greatest blood in the country, submitted to pray to God, a little before the wars. His name is Wannalancet. In the time of the wars he fled, by reason of the wicked actings of some English youth, who causelessly and basely killed and wounded some of them. He was persuaded to come in again. But, the English having ploughed and sown with rye all their lands, they had but little corn to subsist by."

The Christian Indians from Punkapog,* on some slight pretence, were removed to Deer

* Stoughton.

Island, as others had been from various places The whole number of those now collected there amounted to about five hundred. They were necessarily exposed to much suffering. Towards the end of December, 1675, Gookin, Eliot, and others visited them several times to cheer them under their trials. They found these objects of their benevolent care uniformly patient and humble, never disposed to murmur at the treatment they had received, and exhibiting in their whole temper much of the spirit of practical Christianity. Such is the testimony of Gookin; and, however inclined he might be to look on the favorable side of the case, he was certainly too conscientious to overstate their merits purposely, and too sagacious to be much deceived. Must not a great part of their Christian deportment under suffering be ascribed to the affectionate instruction and powerful influence of Mr Eliot?

Wherever the Christian Indians were found, they seem to have been considered as fair prey by the English soldiers. Some of them, who belonged to Hassanamesit, with their religious teacher, had been taken prisoners by the enemy. These men had endeavored to effect an escape, and so far succeeded as to get away from the enemy's quarters. They were wandering in the woods, when they were met by a party

of scouts under the command of Captain Gibbs, who plundered them of the few things they had, and among the rest of a pewter cup, which Mr. Eliot had formerly given them to be used in the communion service, and which the Indian teacher had religiously preserved. The Captain took them to General Savage, the commanding officer, who did all in his power to protect them. But they were afterwards exposed to much cruel treatment. The Indian teacher, with his aged father and several children, was sent to Boston. There they were kindly entertained by a friend, at whose house Mr. Eliot met them, and gave them much consolation and good advice. They were afterwards sent to Deer Island.

In the summer of the same year, a considerable number of the Christian natives were employed in the army against Philip. Perhaps the popular sentiment against them had by this time become somewhat softened. At any rate the government were determined to avail themselves of the aid of these men; and the confidence reposed in them was not misplaced They proved good soldiers, true to the English interest, brave, adroit, and adventurous. "I contend," says Gookin, "that the small company of our Indian friends have taken and slain of the enemy, in the summer of 1676, not less than four hundred; and their fidelity and

courage are testified by the certificates of their captains." Their acquaintance with the Indian modes of movement and fighting rendered them a very efficient part of the army. When the strongest and best of their number were thus withdrawn from the island, the rest, who were either women or old and feeble men, suffered much from the want of provisions and of proper care.

Soon after this the General Court gave permission for their removal from the islands,* taking care, however, to provide that it should be done without any expense to the colony. They were accordingly removed, under the superintendence of Gookin, at the charge of the corporation in England. They were taken to Cambridge, where Mr. Thomas Oliver offered them a residence for the present on his lands, near Charles River. Here they found a convenient place for fishing. Many of them were very ill, some dangerously so, at the time of their removal. The assiduous and never-wearied charity of Eliot and Gookin was called into constant exercise. They took means to provide the Indians with wholesome food, and with such care and medicines, as their sickness

* It appears from Gookin, that many of the Indians, at this time, were on Long Island, in Boston harbour, while others, as before mentioned, occupied Deer Island

required. By this kind attention most of them recovered.

Philip, the white man's dreaded enemy, was now dead, and probably the feeling of hostility to the Praying Indians lost much of its heat. Before winter they removed from their residence in Cambridge. Some settled about the falls of Charles River, and some stationed themselves at Nonantum, the spot where thirty years before Mr. Eliot had first preached the Gospel to the natives. Here one of their teachers, named Anthony, built a large wigwam, in which the meetings for lectures were held, and a school kept during the winter. Mr. Eliot preached to them once a fortnight at the place, in which he began his course of pious usefulness, and which must have awakened in his mind the most interesting associations. He also lectured to another set of Indians, who had been brought from one of the islands, and were settled near Brush Hill in Milton. The aged and the widows among the Christian natives were supplied with clothing and all other necessary commodities, at the expense of the English corporation. By the aid of this charity, and by the venison and fish the men were able to procure, the settlements were comfortably supported. Winter being past, most of the Praying Indians returned to their old settlements at Natick and at the other plantations.

On one occasion, when a court was held and Mr. Eliot had lectured to a large assembly of the Praying Indians, Waban made a speech in the name of the rest, which must have been very gratifying to their English friends. It was full of simple piety, humility, and thankfulness. The Indian orator acknowledged with deep feeling the kindness of the corporation in England, and of their friends in Massachusetts, touched lightly upon the sufferings they had lately experienced, and rejoiced that his brethren had been enabled by their good conduct, as soldiers, to gain so much favor and acceptance. Gookin replied to this speech in a few plain, affectionate, and pious remarks, assuring them of continued friendship, and exhorting them to bear their cross wisely and meekly.

The consequences of the war with Philip inflicted a disastrous blow on the progress of Christianity among the Indians, from which it never entirely recovered. Many of their villages were broken up; and a feeling of discouragement weakened those that remained How could it be otherwise? The friendly sentiment so necessary to the successful diffusion of religion, especially among rude minds, had just grown warm, and was beginning to cement a bond of moral union between the untutored men of the forest and their civilized

neighbors, when it was suddenly sundered by the strong passions, that sprung from the heat of a terrific warfare. After this rupture, it was a hard work to reunite sympathies, which were broken before they had time to coalesce firmly. There would be bitter remembrances, which might be smothered, but could hardly fail to throw a chill upon the persuasions of the English Christians.

These effects of Philip's war unhappily occurred at a time, when the civil and religious improvements among the Praying Indians were new, and, being at best but feebly established, were ill prepared for such a shock. If the sense of wrong did not rankle in the minds of the natives, they must at least have felt, that, in case of any emergency, they were powerless and insecure; and if the pointed remark of Tacitus, that it is the disposition of mankind to hate those whom they have injured,* be as true as it is sad, many of the Massachusetts people could entertain but little kindness for their fellow-men of the woods.

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* "Proprium humani ingenii est, odisse quem læseris." — *De Vitâ Agricolæ*, 42. Seneca ascribes the same disposition peculiarly to those, who are inflated with power and fortune; "Hoc habent pessimum animi magnâ fortunâ insolentes; quos læserunt et oderunt." — *De Irâ*, II. 33.

CHAPTER XV.

Eliot's "Harmony of the Gospels." — Information gathered from his Letters to Robert Boyle. — Notice of him by John Dunton and Increase Mather. — Indian Teacher ordained at Natick. — Remarks on Eliot's Labors among the Indians.

Amidst all the cares, with which the hands and the heart of Mr. Eliot were full, his pen was not idle even in old age. In 1678, he published *The Harmony of the Gospels in the holy History of the Humiliation and Sufferings of Jesus Christ from his Incarnation to his Death and Burial.** The beginning of the title might mislead the expectations of a reader at the present day. It is not what would now be called a Harmony of the Gospels, but rather a Life of the Savior, presenting a connected view of the events recorded in the evangelical history, with few comments of a critical nature, but with many illustrative and practical remarks. It breathes a deep spirit of piety;

* This is a closely printed volume of one hundred and thirty-one pages, from the press of John Foster, the first printer in Boston.

and the style has the unction, energy, and fervent simplicity imparted by such a spirit. Its theological character is what might be expected from the author's religious opinions, and those of his times. Of these, different estimates would be formed by different readers, according to their habits of thinking on these subjects. The volume is free from polemical bitterness, and presents a valuable specimen of the manner of treating the topics connected with the history of Jesus, by one of the most distinguished of the early divines of New England.

By the occasional letters of Mr. Eliot to Robert Boyle, between 1670 and 1688, we are made acquainted with some of the subjects, which occupied his thoughts at that time. He sometimes mentions facts, which he supposed might interest Mr. Boyle, as a philosophical inquirer into nature. He relates, for instance, the great mortality among the fish in Fresh Pond, which took place in the summer of 1670,* and the increase of the disease of the stone

* Hubbard assigns this event to the summer of 1676. (General History, p. 648.) Mr. Eliot says the fish thrust themselves out of the water on the shore, as fast as possible, and there died. Not less than twenty cart-loads lay dead around the pond. Hubbard remarks, "It was conceived to be the effect of some mineral vapor, that at that time had made an irruption into the water."

among both the English and Indians, the cause of which he thought he had discovered.

In speaking of the disturbance occasioned, and the losses sustained, by the war with the eastern Indians, he remarks, that the colonists had learned by experience "the vanity of military skill after the European mode," in their encounters with the savages. "Now," he adds, "we are glad to learn the skulking way of war."* He alludes also to the disasters suffered from the incursions of the fierce Mohawks, a narrative of which Gookin had drawn up, and presented to Lord Culpepper and Sir Edmund Andros. A copy of this narrative was to be sent to Mr. Boyle.

Information concerning the second edition of the Indian Bible, while it was in process,

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* It cost the English some time and a good deal of careful attention to understand and meet the insidious mode of Indian warfare. At first, Gookin informs us, they "thought easily to chastise the insolent doings and murderous practices of the heathens. But it was found another manner of thing than was expected; for our men could see no enemy to shoot at, but yet felt their bullets out of the thick bushes, where they lay in ambushments. The enemy also used this stratagem, to apparel themselves from the waist upward with green boughs, that our Englishmen could not readily discern them, or distinguish them from the natural bushes. This manner of fighting our men had little experience of, and hence were under great disadvantages."—*Historical Account, &c.* Captain Church discovered some of the principles, which the savages observed in their crafty

is frequently given in these letters. Mr. Boyle had sent a number of English Bibles, for which Eliot returns his cordial thanks, but reminds his honored correspondent, that to have the Scriptures in their own tongue was the great want of the Indians. He says, "Our Praying Indians, both in the islands and on the main, are considered together numerous; thousands of souls, of whom some are believers, some learners, and some still infants; and all of them beg, cry, entreat for Bibles, having already enjoyed that blessing, but now are in great want."

It had been a source of deep grief to Mr. Eliot, that many of the Indians captured during the wars were sold into slavery. He regarded this practice with that indignant abhorrence, which it ought to excite in every

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mode of fighting. He "inquired of some of the Indians that were become his soldiers, how they got such advantage, often, of the English in their marches through the woods. They told him, that the Indians gained great advantage of the English by two things; they always took care, in their marches and fights, not to come too thick together, but the English always kept in a heap together, so that it was as easy to hit them as to hit a house. The other was, that, if at any time they discovered a company of English soldiers in the woods, they knew that there were all, for the English never scattered; but the Indians always divided and scattered." — CHURCH's *History of Philip's War*, Drake's edition, p. 108.

Christian bosom. He remonstrated warmly against the iniquity; but the temper of the times, in respect to the Indians, was but little inclined to listen to reason or humanity.

By a letter, written in 1683, it appears, that he was on the watch for an opportunity to relieve some of those, who had suffered in this way. He informs Mr. Boyle, that a vessel had formerly carried away a number of these captives to be sold for slaves, but that "the nations whither she went would not buy them." She had afterwards left them at Tangier, and Mr. Eliot had heard of them through an Englishman, who had lately come from that place. He entreats Mr. Boyle to use his mediation for their deliverance, so that they might be restored to their homes, either by a direct passage to New England, or by being sent to England and thence to America. He presses this matter with all the earnestness of a benevolent heart, and says of the effort for the rescue of these men, which he requests Mr. Boyle to make, "I am persuaded, that Christ will at the great day reckon it among your deeds of charity done for his name's sake." Whether the application was successful, I have not been able to discover. This noble spirit of humanity, this strong sense of justice, on behalf of the oppressed and the wronged, when public sensibility was dead on the subject, does

great honor to Eliot's character. However they might be despised or forgotten by others, in him they found a true and fearless friend.*

Mr. Boyle had requested a particular account of the Praying Indians. Eliot's reply was written in 1684, and gives a brief statement of their condition at that time. Since Philip's war, the stated places in Massachusetts, where the natives met for worship and religious instruction, had been reduced to four.† Occasional meetings were held in other places, when they came together in large numbers to fish, hunt, or gather chestnuts.

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* Speaking of the fate of Philip's wife and son, Mr. Everett says, "They were sold into slavery, — West Indian slavery! an Indian princess and her child sold from the cool breezes of Mount Hope, from the wild freedom of a New England forest, to gasp under the lash, beneath the blazing sun of the tropics! 'Bitter as death;' ay, bitter as hell! Is there any thing, I do not say in the range of humanity, — is there any thing animated, that would not struggle against this?" — *Address at Bloody Brook*, p. 28. Well may we add, in the language of a poem, which has many striking beauties,

> "Ah! happier they, who in the strife
> For freedom fell, than o'er the main,
> Those who in slavery's galling chain
> Still bore the load of hated life, —
> Bowed to base tasks their generous pride,
> And scourged and broken-hearted died!"
>
> *Yamoyden*, Canto I. 10.

† These were Natick and the towns now called Stoughton, Tewksbury, and Dudley

A new assistant in the work had been received in the person of Gookin's son, a pious and learned man, thirty-three years of age who had been eight years "a fellow of the college." He was settled in the ministry at Sherburne, and once a month gave a lecture at Natick, which was communicated to the Indians by an interpreter. Mr. Gookin was learning the language of the natives, that he might preach to them with more efficiency. The heart of the aged Eliot must have been gladdened, as he was soon to be gathered to his fathers, to see the cause sustained by the youthful arm of the son of his beloved friend.

It is worthy of remark, that one of Eliot's letters to Mr. Boyle is dated "August 29th, 1686, *in the third month of our overthrow.*" This expression is presumed to refer to the change in the government of the colonies by the dissolution of the charters and to the appointment of Sir Edmund Andros, as Governor-General of New England. The people felt it to be indeed a season of "overthrow." A deep sentiment of indignation and alarm pervaded the community. They could no longer choose their own governors, but were compelled to take such as the royal authority designated. The accession of James the Second to the throne of England they believed to be the signal for oppression and tyranny; and the conduct of the

new governor soon justified their fears. Mr Eliot begins his letter with saying, "I have nothing new to write but lamentations." This was an expression of the general feeling of the country.

Eliot's last letter to Mr. Boyle, in which, being eighty-four years old, he says with affecting simplicity, "I am drawing home, and am glad of an opportunity to take my leave of your Honor with all thankfulness," expresses a hope of the revival of the Christian cause among the natives. It is pleasant to find, that the light of hope sometimes fell upon the last days of the venerable evangelist, instead of the sadness which would have darkened them, could he have looked into the future, and seen that those for whom he labored were doomed to vanish before the white man, instead of sharing with him the blessings of civilization and Christianity.

Among those who have recorded their notice of Mr. Eliot and his doings, should be mentioned that amusing bookseller and writer, John Dunton, who visited New England in 1685. He bears a full testimony to the good effects of the apostle's labors for the Indians. "I have been an eyewitness," he affirms, "of the wonderful success, which the Gospel of peace has had amongst them. Their manners became less barbarous; they formed themselves

into more regular societies, and began to live after the English fashion." *

Increase Mather wrote a letter in 1687 to Leusden, Professor of Hebrew in the University of Utrecht, in which he presents a sketch of the progress and condition of the converted Indians, and of course makes favorable mention of Mr. Eliot.† But there is little to be gathered from it in addition to what we learn from other sources. With regard to the religious language used by the Indians, the writer makes the following remark; "Before the English came into these coasts, these barbarous natives were altogether ignorant of the true God; hence it is, that in their prayers and sermons they use English words and terms; he that calls upon the most holy name of God, says *Jehovah*, or *God*, or *Lord*; and also they have learned and borrowed many other theological phrases from us." This was naturally the expedient, which a people would adopt, when the ideas they wished to embody in words, being in some respects new to them, could find no precise expression in their own tongue. With the new religion they would necessarily learn some new words, and interweave them with their own phraseology. When

* See DUNTON'S *Life and Errors*, Vol. I. pp. 115–122.

† See Cotton Mather's *Life of Eliot*, in the MAGNALIA, Part III

Increase Mather wrote this letter, Mr Eliot was bowed under the weight of eighty-three years; yet he still preached to his Indian disciples as often as once in two months.

An Indian teacher, whose name was Daniel Takawombpait, was ordained at Natick. Mr. Eliot had an agency in his ordination; but at what time this took place, we do not learn. It must, however, have been before the summer of 1687; for by the above-mentioned letter of Increase Mather, of that date, it appears that this man was then in the pastoral office. He died on the 17th of September, 1716, aged sixty-four years. A humble grave-stone marked the spot where he was interred. It is now standing, as one of the lower stones in a wall, which runs across his grave by the road near the meeting-house in South Natick. The Indians of Natick have entirely disappeared in the progress of years. It is unnecessary here to give the history, or to investigate the causes, of their decay,* which is indeed but one item in the general story of the wasting of the aboriginals. At the present day, one miserable hut, or wigwam, inhabited by three or four of mingled Indian and Negro blood, is the only remnant of a settlement, which its founder

* On this subject see the statements in the Reverend Stephen Badger's letter in 1 M. H. Coll., V. 33 - 45.

hoped would prove a seminary of Christian and social blessings for the natives of our land.

I have now brought to a close the account of Mr. Eliot's persevering efforts for the civil and religious improvement of the Indians. The story might be enlarged; but I hope enough has been presented to give a correct conception of the task, on which this good man spent so large a portion of his days and his strength

It seems impossible for any candid mind to doubt the purity of the motives, by which Mr Eliot was excited to engage in this Christian enterprise. If we may trust the evidence of his conduct, and of all testimonies concerning him, he was a man distinguished by singleness of heart, one who listened to the voice of duty as the voice of God. No one could be less likely to make cunning calculations of personal interest in any undertaking; for he had the guileless simplicity of a child, as well as the firmness of a tried Christian. What inducement, but the hearty love of doing good, could have sent him forth on an errand of mercy, which presented no attractions, except such as the Christian sees in every proposal for advancing the welfare of his fellow-men?

The design seems to have sprung up amidst the silent workings of his own mind. No voice of invitation or encouragement, at the first, came to him from without. No eloquent appeal

to his piety or his compassion was made by others. No one had gone before him in the enterprise, and returned to tell the story of the red man's wants, and to rouse the white man to supply them. He hearkened in silence to the admonition within his breast, which he revered "as God's most intimate presence in the soul," and which told him, that a work of benevolence must be performed for the neglected and forlorn barbarians. He went forth to perform it amidst discouragements and obstacles, which were ever driving back his spirit on the resources of faith; amidst suffering, danger, and personal exposure, which were ever making large demands on his power of endurance.

No trace of spiritual ambition, no mark of self-complacency, no word of vanity appears in the whole course of the labors of more than forty years. He cared not who had the praise, so the work of God were done. There have been achievements more brilliant than his; there have been enterprises more susceptible of attractive embellishment in the description than his; but none more unequivocally marked with the spirit of Christian disinterestedness. We cannot hesitate to yield a full assent to the testimony of Gookin, when he affirms, that "Mr. Eliot engaged in this great work of preaching unto the Indians upon a very pure and sincere account."

Nor can it be denied, that the manner, in which he discharged his difficult duty, was wise and judicious. No fanatical impulse, no irrational expectation, carried him headlong without regard to circumstances. He weighed well the nature of the undertaking. He sought to deal with the savage, as with a benighted brother, who must be taken by the hand like a child, and be led by winning means to feel his want of a better state, till he should rejoice to have the want supplied. No man was ever more devoted to a task, than Mr. Eliot to his; but it was a devotedness regulated by good sense and by the true spirit of faith. He endeavored to secure a lodgment for the truths of the Gospel, not by inculcating abstract ideas on the mind of the Indian, nor by leading it darkly along a chain of reasoning, which it could not grasp, but by plain and easy expositions of the facts and teachings of Scripture, and by familiar illustrations of elementary truths, borrowed from objects or ideas to which his hearers were accustomed.

We have seen how much importance he ascribed to the mechanical arts, as well as to schools, in bringing the natives to a better condition, and how desirous he was to make his Indians good farmers and good artisans, as well as good Christians. He understood and practised upon the true doctrine on this sub-

ject, that judicious modes of civilization and of social improvement must proceed simultaneously with such simple forms of religious instruction, as are adapted to the mental condition of the catechumens. There were errors and mistakes in Mr. Eliot's manner of proceeding, as there have been in all similar enterprises; but, on the whole, there are few, if any, better models of missionary effort, than that which his history presents. It has been said, probably without exaggeration, that Mr. Eliot was the most successful missionary that ever preached the Gospel to the Indians.

The question has been, and will be again, asked, What after all was the use of this difficult effort, this hard toil? Was it not a wasted labor? Were the Indians benefited, or was Christianity planted with an abiding power in their wigwams and villages? Did not the whole disappear, like the snow-wreath in the sun? These questions are sometimes put in a sneering and contemptuous spirit, which becomes neither the Christian nor the philosopher.* If the natives of our forests derived no permanent benefit from the exertions of Mr. Eliot and others, let it be remembered, that these natives vanished from among men, before

* See the flippant remarks of Douglass; *Summary Historical and Political*, Vol. I. p. 172.

the experiment could be tried on a large scale and for many successive years. They dwindled away in presence of the ever-restless enterprise of the New England settlers; and well might they say of "the pale race" around them,

> "They waste us, — ay, like April snow
> In the warm noon, we shrink away;
> And fast they follow, as we go
> Towards the setting day, —
> Till they shall fill the land, and we
> Are driven into the western sea."

I do not say that blame is necessarily to be attached to those, by whom they were crowded out; for, the world over, it is, and has been, generally a law of human progress, that civilized man must overtop and displace uncivilized man. But I say, that it ill becomes us, who have taken possession of the broad and fair lands of New England, to ask in derision, what was the use of all the Christian zeal displayed in behalf of the race that once roamed over our hills and plains, when we recollect that they disappeared, to make room for us, too soon for the great and final results of that zeal to be fairly unfolded.

But the question may be asked, on the other hand, Was there no good done? It is true, indeed, that both the red man and his Christianity, such as it was, vanished ere long from the roll of existing things. But while he re-

mained, did the religion, which he had received, do nothing for him? True, it was a very imperfect and rude exercise of faith; his conceptions of what he had learned under the name of Christianity were, as we should expect, coarse and narrow. But was even such a form of moral life useless to him? God has endowed spiritual truth with a power, which, when it has once found its way to the heart, cannot be wholly suppressed or extinguished by any rudeness of apprehension, or any poverty of knowledge.

> "Who the line
> Shall draw, the limits of the power define,
> That even imperfect faith to man affords?"

I cannot readily believe, that any portion of spiritual culture is entirely lost. Somewhere and somehow it has worked, and will work, for good. Even in the comparatively faint moral life kindled among the Indian settlements founded by Mr. Eliot, before they were broken by war and discord, there was far more of the substantial good that belongs to man in his true attributes, than among all the tribes, who still roamed in vaunted freedom through the forests, unchained by any restraints of order or religion.

But even if not one of the Indians had been personally benefited by the labors of the apostle Eliot, still those labors, like every great

benevolent effort, have answered a noble purpose. They stand as the imperishable record of good attempted by man for man; and such a record, who, that values the moral glory of his country, will consider as a trivial portion of her history? It constitutes a chapter in the annals of benevolence, which every Christian, every friend of man, will contemplate with pleasure, even if his gratification be mingled with the sad reflection, that so much was done for so small results. When the settlers of New England came hither, and built new homes on these shores, they and the natives, the stranger emigrant and the old inhabitant, stood side by side, each a portion of God's great family. Had our fathers never cast one kind regard on these wild men, had they never approached them in any office of kindness or any manifestation of sympathy, had they stood off from them in surly or contemptuous indifference, except when occasion might serve to circumvent or crush them, a melancholy deduction must have been made from the reverence, with which every son of New England loves to regard their character and doings.

But it is not so. The voice of Christian affection was spoken to the savage. The accents of pious kindness saluted his ear. For him benevolence toiled, and faith prayed, and wisdom taught; and the red race did not pass

away, carrying with them no remembrance but that of defeat, and wrong, and submission to overpowering strength. The Christianity of the white man formed a beautiful, though transient, bond of interest with them. The light, which Eliot's piety kindled, was indeed destined soon to go out. But there his work stands for ever on our records, a work of love, performed in the spirit of love, and designed to effect the highest good which man is capable of receiving. Nonantum and Natick will ever be names of beautiful moral meaning in the history of New England.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Studies, Preaching, Charity, and General Habits of Mr. Eliot, during his Ministry at Roxbury. — His Family.

While Mr. Eliot was thus for a long series of years employed in the work, which has been described, he had also been a faithful and laborious servant of Christ in the ministry of his own church. Few men could have carried on two courses of service, one requiring such peculiar efforts, and both sufficiently arduous, with so much fidelity and success. His ministry in Roxbury was of nearly sixty years' duration. For about thirty-four years of that time, he had the assistance of colleagues at different periods; but his own attention to the duties of the sacred office when at home, was always constant and devout. When he began to preach to the Indians, he had no colleague; and several of the neighboring ministers occasionally assisted him by attending to his duties in Roxbury, while he was engaged in a new field of labor. Besides the work of his mission to the natives, his exertions among his own people were such, as to entitle him to the character of a most devoted and able minister

The sketch of that part of his life, which was spent in these duties, must necessarily be a description of general habits, rather than a narrative of events. Mr. Eliot uniformly pursued his theological studies with untired zeal and with distinguished success. Amidst the active and exciting engagements, in which he was so constantly employed, it is surprising, that he was able to find so much leisure for meditation and learned inquiries.

The original languages of the Bible he studied with an exact and persevering diligence proportioned to his reverence for divine truth. The Hebrew especially he held in high honor. So great was his veneration for this language, that he thought it admirably adapted to supply the desideratum of a *Universal Character,* the attainment of which was a problem that exercised the ingenuity of Bishop Wilkins and other learned men of those days. In a letter to Richard Baxter, written in 1663, Eliot introduces this subject. He affirms, that no language is so well adapted, as the Hebrew, to answer the purpose of "that long talked of and desired design of a universal character and language." He quotes *Jordini Hebreæ Radices,* in the Preface to which it is affirmed, that the Hebrew, by "the divine artifice" of its construction, "is capable of a regular expatiation into millions of words." Then, growing

warm in his enthusiasm, Eliot adds, "It had need be so, for being the language which shall be spoken in heaven, where knowledge will be so enlarged, there will need a spacious language; and what language fitter than this of God's own making and composure? And why may we not make ready for heaven in this point, by making and fitting that language, according to the rules of the divine artifice of it, to express all imaginable conceptions and notions of the mind of man in all arts and sciences." * He even thinks, that such a glorious result is a subject of prophecy in Zephaniah iii. 9, and other passages of Scripture.† Mr. Eliot's confidence, that Hebrew is the language of heaven, furnishes an amusing specimen of the whimsical notions, which a man may seriously adopt in the ardor of a favorite study. It was not, however, peculiar to himself; for the zeal of other Oriental scholars had led them to defend the same conjecture. The design of a Universal Character, on which Mr. Eliot dwelt with so much pleasure, after having exercised the learning and abilities of such men as Wilkins, Dalgarno, Leibnitz, Becher,‡ and others, may

* Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, &c., p. 294.

† The same strain of remark respecting the Hebrew occurs in ELIOT's *Communion of Churches, &c.*, ch. III. p. 17

‡ For some remarks on the views of Leibnitz on this subject, see the *Eloge de M. Leibnitz par* M. DE FONTENELLE.

probably be considered as having passed into the region of philosophical vagaries.

On the metaphysical questions of theology Mr. Eliot appears to have bestowed some thoughtful attention, if we may judge from occasional intimations. A few remarks manifesting this propensity occur in the beforementioned letter to Baxter, whose speculations on the freedom of the will he had read with much satisfaction. Having referred to Genesis i. 26, he proceeds to remark, "But what our likeness to God is, is the question. Why may it not admit this explication, that one chief thing is to act, like God, according to our light freely, by choice without compulsion, to be the author of our own act, to determine our own choice. This is spontaneity; the nature of the will lieth in this." The freedom of the will, he thinks, was not lost by the fall; only, its energies were wholly turned to evil. But what difference there can be between a constraint upon the spontaneity of the will, and an impossibility to act except in one direction, that

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Œuvres de Fontenelle, Tome V. p. 493. An account of the plan of Becher, an ingenious man, though a charlatan, is given in ADELUNG's *Geschichte der Menschlichen Narrheit*, Vol. I. p. 138. On the subject of a philosopical or universal language, see DUGALD STEWART, *Works*, Vol I. p. 149; and COUSIN, *Cours de l'Histoire de la Philosophie*, Tome II. pp. 311 - 315.

is, towards sin, it would be difficult to discover.

In the same letter Eliot manifests an interest, which he had exhibited on other occasions, in the progress of medical science. He speaks in terms of high praise of the studies and labors of the College of Physicians in London "By the blessing of God upon them," says he, "they seem to me to design such a regiment of health, and such an exact inspection into all diseases, and knowledge of all medicaments, and prudence of application of the same, that the book of divine Providence seemeth to provide for the lengthening of the life of man again in this latter end of the world, which would be no small advantage unto all kinds of good learning and government. And doth not such a thing seem to be prophesied in Isaiah lxv. 20? If the child shall die one hundred years old, of what age shall the old man be? But I would not be too bold with the Holy Scriptures." This fashion of finding at pleasure predictions in the Bible, to suit all occasions, was common at that time.

The preaching of Mr. Eliot is described* as

* On this and on most points relating to the ministry and domestic habits of the Apostle Eliot, Cotton Mather, who was his contemporary, and knew him well, gives us more full and important information than any other writer. In this part of my narrative I rely chiefly on his authority.

having been of the most skilful and efficient kind. It was distinguished by great simplicity and plainness, "so that," says Mather, "the very lambs might wade into his discourses on those texts and themes, wherein elephants might swim." * His manner was usually gentle and winning; but when sin was to be rebuked or corruption combated, his voice swelled into solemn and powerful energy, and the heart of the transgressor shook as at the sound that rolled from Sinai. On such occasions, there were "*quot verba tot fulmina*, as many thunderbolts as words."

Carelessness or negligence in the duties of the pulpit he could not tolerate. He always insisted, that sermons should be prepared with great attention, and with much mental effort, at the same time that they were pervaded by the sanctifying spirit of a divine influence. He would say to one, whose preaching was of this character, "Brother, there is oil required for the service of the sanctuary, but it must be

* This striking, but somewhat quaint illustration was not original with Mather, though perhaps, amidst his multifarious reading, he had forgotten whence he received it. "One of the Fathers," says Coleridge, "has observed, that in the New Testament there are shallows where the lamb may ford, and depths where the elephant must swim." — *Lay Sermon addressed to the Higher and Middle Classes, &c.*, p. 58.

beaten; I praise God that your oil was so well beaten to-day."

In the administration of ecclesiastical affairs, Mr. Eliot, like most of the ministers at that time, was an advocate for the rigorous strictness of church discipline. The Congregational form, which was the favorite one in New England, he always loved and defended, as a happy medium between Presbyterianism on the one hand, and Brownism, so called, on the other.

In children, and in the young generally, Mr. Eliot's interest was strong and hearty. He loved them with a truly paternal kindness; and the efforts, which he made for their good, were not undertaken in the mechanical or cold spirit of one, who merely does what is expected of him as an official duty. He had a deep conviction of the importance of placing religious influence strongly and largely among those first elements, which are to be the germs of future character. He was thoroughly persuaded that the piety, which takes its root among the pleasant feelings and tender impressions of childhood, is likely to be more enduring, more true to God and the Savior, than that which is laid upon the mind, rather than incorporated into it, at a subsequent period, when the feelings have grown hard and dry.

Mr. Eliot maintained a sympathy with the youthful part of his flock, which could have

been the result only of a hearty concern for their best welfare. This man, who stood high among the first divines of his country and age, and whose Christian activity was ever going forth in far-reaching enterprises of piety, had a heart for humbler scenes, and was ever ready, like his Master, to take little children into his arms and bless them. He was earnest in inculcating the duty, and able in defending the practice, of infant baptism. He valued highly the religious instruction given by cate chizing; a mode of teaching the young, to which greater relative importance was ascribed then, than will be assigned to it in modern times, when more varied and more interesting means of conveying religious truth to the mind of the child are so generally in use. "The care of the lambs," said Mr. Eliot, "is one third part of the charge over the church of God." *

It was in the same spirit, that on all occasions he pressed the importance of maintaining good schools in the towns and settlements of the colony. It is related, that he made this the subject of fervent and special prayers at the meeting of a synod in Boston. By his active agency, a school of a high character was established in Roxbury, for the support of which he bequeathed a considerable part of his own

* This he said in commenting on John xxi. 15.

property. This free school was the admiration of the neighboring towns; and Mather states, as a result of its influence, "that Roxbury has afforded more scholars, first for the college, and then for the public, than any town of its bigness, or, if I mistake not, of twice its bigness, in all New England."

There was no point, on which Mr. Eliot was more earnest in his exhortations, or more strict in his example, than the observance of the Sabbath. He might be said, indeed, to devote every day to God, by devoting it to duty. But, on the Lord's day, it was a matter of conscience and of uniform practice with him to consecrate his thoughts by special exercises to spiritual communion and spiritual improvement. Probably in the punctilious rigor, with which he regulated his habits in this respect, there was a portion of the superstitious precision that belonged to his times. But who can doubt, that these seasons of exclusive devotion to the duties of religious abstraction and meditative piety contributed much to arm his soul with strength for the great tasks of such a life as his? On the subject of the Sabbath he had some discussion by letter with the celebrated John Owen of England, the most eminent divine among the Independents, who, in his answer to Eliot, lamented, as one of the saddest frowns of Providence

towards him, that he should have been so misunderstood by the churches and the ministers of New England whom he loved, as to be suspected of having given a wound to the cause of holiness.

Mr. Eliot's intercourse with the people of his charge was a perpetual exhibition of the fidelity of a spiritual friend, and the virtues of a benevolent, heavenly-minded Christian. With all his gravity of character, there was nothing stiff in his deportment, or morose in his disposition. Social freedom and innocent hilarity never fled from his presence On the contrary, he was distinguished by that facetious affability, which springs naturally from a contented and cheerful heart. He had a relish for chastened wit, and his conversation was sprinkled with its pleasant influence. His leading aim, however, in social intercourse, was to promote edification. No man was more intent upon seizing every occasion for a good hint, or for an apt illustration of moral and religious truth. Scarcely a topic passed him in conversation, without being made to minister to important instruction. He discovered gold where others saw only common stones.

In the ordinary occurrences of life, and in the usual course of divine Providence, he had the same disposition to find matter for fruitful reflection, which Luther cherished in his study

of the Scriptures;* so that he was compared in his old age to Homer's Nestor, from whose lips dropped words sweeter than honey. It was the frequent remark of his friends, that "they were never with him, but they got, or might have got, some good from him." He believed a life of duty to be the best preparation for death; "for," said he, on one occasion, "were I sure to go to heaven to-morrow, I would do what I am doing to-day." The spirituality of his feelings was ever going forth in spontaneous manifestations. It is related, that when he once visited a merchant in his counting-room, seeing books of business on the table, and some books of devotion laid away on a shelf, he said, "Here, Sir, is earth on the table, and heaven on the shelf; pray do not sit so much at the table, as altogether to forget the shelf; let not earth thrust heaven out of your mind." If the merchant regarded the admonition as intrusive and unseasonable, he doubtless respected the pious zeal and apostolical simplicity of the good man.

In the performance of his duties among his

* "In the Bible," said Luther, "we have rich and precious comforts, learnings, admonitions, warnings, promises, and threatenings." And he added, in his quaint way, "There is not a tree in this orchard, on which I have not knocked, and have shaken at least a couple of apples or pears from the same." — *Table-Talk*, Chap. I.

congregation and elsewhere, he was eminently remarkable for his free and self-forgetting bounty. The pecuniary resources of a New England clergyman, slender enough at any time, were then scanty indeed. But Mr. Eliot, in the unchecked freedom of his liberality, made the most of the little he possessed, in works of benevolence. To the poor he gave with an open hand, till all was gone; and they looked to him as a father and a friend. The amount of his personal charities in this way alone, at different times, was many hundred pounds. He did not wait for suffering to come in his way, but sought it out diligently. As other men would search for hidden treasures, he searched for opportunities of raising the wretched and relieving the miserable. When his own means were exhausted, he applied to those who were blessed with abundance, and begged of them contributions for the children of want. His bounty, to be so profuse, must sometimes doubtless have been indiscriminate and injudicious. With a benevolence too incautious, he often distributed his salary for the relief of others, before the wants of his own family were supplied.

On this subject there is a well-known anecdote, which, though probably familiar to many readers, is too characteristic to be omitted. When the parish treasurer was once about to

pay him his salary, or a portion of it, knowing his habitual propensity, he put it into a handkerchief, which he tied in several hard knots, in order to prevent Mr. Eliot from giving it away before he reached home. After leaving the treasurer, the benevolent man called at the house of a family, who were poor and sick. He blessed them, and told them God had sent relief by him. His kind words brought tears of gratitude to their eyes. He immediately attempted to untie his handkerchief; but the knots had been so effectually made, that he could not get at his money. After several fruitless efforts to loose the handkerchief, growing impatient of the perplexity and delay, he gave the whole to the mother of the family, saying, "Here, my dear, take it; I believe the Lord designs it all for you." *

The kindness of Mr. Eliot was manifested in other ways as effectually, at least, as in the bestowment of money. His wife is said to have had some skill in physic and surgery, sufficient to enable her in common cases to administer to the diseased and wounded with considerable success. She was always glad to use her knowledge as an instrument of charity; and it

* See 1 M. H. Coll., X. 186, where, I believe, this often-repeated anecdote was originally told. It is given in a letter signed J. M.; and the writer of the letter received it from his parents, who were natives of Roxbury.

was with delight that her husband saw her engaged in these labors of kindness. One of his parishioners was deeply offended by something he had said in the pulpit, and reviled him in no measured terms, both by speech and writing. Not long afterwards, this man happened to wound himself in a dangerous manner. Eliot immediately despatched his wife to dress his wound and relieve his suffering. She discharged the office with ready kindness, and soon effected a complete cure. When the man had recovered, he went to thank the good lady, and offered her a compensation, which she declined. Mr. Eliot urged him to stay at his house, and dine with him. The invitation was accepted; and Eliot treated him with great kindness, never alluding to the calumnies and the acrimonious speeches, with which his parishioner had assailed his character. The man, ashamed of his conduct, was subdued into a friend. Is there a better illustration of the fine precept, "Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good"?

Our benevolent apostle was distinguished for his love of peace. "He was a great enemy to all contention," says Mather, "and would ring aloud the curfew-bell wherever he saw the fires of animosity." To one, who complained of the intractable disposition of others, he would say, "Brother, learn the meaning of

those three little words, *bear*, *forbear*, *forgive*. When either peace or his own rights must be given up, he was always willing to sacrifice the latter to the former; and wherever he appeared, his earnest persuasive was, like the affectionate charge so often repeated by the aged Apostle John, "My children, love one another."

His habits with respect to personal indulgence were of the most simple and severe kind. He had attained a complete mastery over the pleasures of sense, and held them in despotic subjugation. The lessons of self-denial, which he had thoroughly learned and daily practised, and his indifference to outward accommodations, fitted him to endure without complaint the privations, to which he was often exposed in his ministry to the Indians. He allowed himself but little sleep, rising early and beginning his labors in the freshness of morning. This habit he recommended to others, especially to those who were engaged in intellectual pursuits. He would often say to young students, "I pray you, look to it that you be morning birds."

His food was always the plainest and most simple. Rich viands and highly seasoned varieties for the table, it seems, were not unknown in New England even at that time For these Mr. Eliot had no relish himself, and

but little mercy for the taste in others. When he dined abroad, he partook of but one dish, and that the plainest on the table. He was habitually a water-drinker, and seldom deviated into the use of any other liquor. The juice of the grape he did not denounce, but rarely tasted it himself. "Wine," he was accustomed to say, "is a noble, generous liquor, and we should be humbly thankful for it; but, as I remember, water was made before it." He thought very justly that intemperate eating deserved to be severely rebuked, no less than intemperate drinking. In his correspondence with Baxter he remarks, "I observe in yours a thing, which I have not so much observed in other men's writing, namely that you often inveigh against the sin of gluttony, as well as drunkenness. It appeareth to be a very great point of Christian prudence, temperance, and mortification, to rule the appetite of eating as well as drinking; and, were that point more inculcated by divines, it would much tend to the sanctification of God's people, as well as to a better preservation of health, and lengthening of the life of man on earth." *

Extravagance or finery in dress was likely to draw from Mr. Eliot a witty or a serious rebuke. His own apparel was not only without

* Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, &c., p. 294.

ornament, but frequently of the most homely kind. It is said that, like John the Baptist, he sometimes had a leathern girdle about his loins; but this, it is likely, was worn only or chiefly during his missionary excursions. In some men, habits like these might justly be supposed to proceed from an affectation of homeliness; for there is a pride of plainness, as well as a pride of finery. But Mr. Eliot was too guileless a man to be suspected of such folly. His negligence of external appearance, and his contempt for the pleasures of the table, were the result of an unaffected love of simplicity, strengthened by a studious life and by intense engagement in absorbing duties.

Mr. Eliot had a few whims, to which he was pertinaciously attached. One of these was an unsparing hostility to the practice of wearing long hair and wigs. He could not endure it; he regarded it as an iniquity not to be tolerated. The man, and especially the minister of the Gospel, who wore a wig, he considered as committing an offence, not only against decency, but against religion. His zeal about "prolix locks" was warm, but unavailing. He lived to see the practice prevail in spite of his remonstrances, and at last gave over his warfare against it with the despairing remark, "The lust has become insuperable!" The readers of New England history will remem-

ber, that in 1649 an association was formed, and a solemn protest published, against wearing long hair, by Governor Endicot and the other magistrates.*

In this punctiliousness we see the influence of sympathy with the English Roundheads carried even into trifles. In England periwigs were permitted quietly to cover the head soon after the restoration of Charles. But for more than thirty years after that time, they were deemed by many a sore grievance in New England. Gradually during that period they were coming into use; but they needed all the authority derived from the practice of such divines as Owen, Bates, and Mede, to find protection at last. The intolerance they experienced from Mr. Eliot was not, therefore, a singularity in the good man; he only persevered in his stern hostility against them longer than many others.

To the use of tobacco, the introduction of which had caused no little disturbance in New England, he had likewise a strong aversion and denounced it in the severest terms. But his opposition in this case was as ineffectual, as in that of the wigs. "In contempt of all his admonitions," says Allen, "the head would be adorned with curls of foreign growth, and the pipe would send up volumes of smoke."

* Hutchinson. Vol. I. p. 142

In his domestic relations this devoted laborer for truth and righteousness was richly blessed, though the providence of God repeatedly called him to that painful trial, the bitterness of which none but a parent's heart can know. He had six children; one daughter, who was the eldest, and five sons. Only the daughter and one son survived him. The others died young, or in middle age.*

The frequent and grievous disappointment of parental hopes Mr. Eliot received with the submissive piety of a Christian. "I have had," said he in the calm spirit inspired by his faith, "six children; and, I bless God for his grace, they are all either with Christ or in Christ, and my mind is at rest concerning them. My desire was that they should have served God on earth; but if God will choose to have them rather serve him in heaven, I have nothing to object against it, but his will be done." It was his earnest desire to train up his sons to aid and follow him in his favorite work of the Indian ministry. On this subject his feelings were once much affected by the inquiries which one of the natives made respecting his children.†

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* See an account of Eliot's children in the MAGNALIA, *Life of Eliot, Preliminary* I. The youngest son assisted his father some time in the ministry at Roxbury.

† "Another Indian," says he, "who lived remote another

Mr. Eliot's wife was a woman of many virtues, distinguished for gentle piety and busy usefulness, and admirably fitted to be the companion of such a man. Their union was very long and very happy. She stood by his side for many years to soothe his sorrows, to encourage his heart, and to strengthen his hands It was fortunate for him, that she bestowed a skilful attention on the management of the prudential concerns of the family; for so negligent was he of these things, that he did not know his own property. His wife once amused herself by pointing to several of his cows, that stood before the door, and asking him whose they were. She found that the good man knew nothing about them.

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way, asked me if I had any children. I answered, Yea He asked how many. I said, Six. He asked how many of them were sons. I told him, Five. Then he asked whether my sons should teach the Indians to know God, as I do. At which question I was much moved in my heart; for I have often in my prayers dedicated all my sons unto the Lord to serve him in this service, if he will please to accept them therein; and my purpose is to do my uttermost to train them up in learning, whereby they may be fitted in the best manner I can to serve the Lord herein; and better preferment I desire not for them, than to serve the Lord in this travail. And to that purpose I answered him; and my answer seemed to be well pleasing to them, which seemed to minister to my heart some encouragement that the Lord's meaning was to improve them that way, and he would prepare their hearts to accept the same"—Eliot's letter in *Further Discovery, &c.*, p. 20. See Appendix, No. IV.

Her excellent domestic economy, her unwearied activity, and her truly Christian character made her a blessing to her family, to the church, and to the whole circle of her acquaintances. She died, three years before her husband, on the 24th of March, 1687, in the eighty-fourth year of her age. The Reverend Mr. Danforth of Dorchester offered to her memory the tribute of a poetical effusion.* Her death smote heavily on the heart of her venerable husband. The weight of eighty-three years was pressing him down; and she, who was bound to him by the strong ties of early love, who had been his solace amidst toil and trial, and who was truly called "the staff of his age," had fallen by his side.

When the aged are thus separated, there is for the survivor a dreary loneliness, which none but the aged can feel. The smile, which had made the fireside cheerful for many years, the busy kindness in the little details of every day which grows more important as years steal on, the quiet happiness arising from a perfect acquaintance with each other's tastes and an entire confidence in each other's hearts, the pleasure of mutual dependence which habit has

* A poem "On the death of Mrs. Anne Eliot, the virtuous Consort of the Reverend John Eliot, first Minister of Roxbury." See 1 M. H. Coll., IX. 176. Mr. Danforth also wrote "verses to the memory" of Mr. Eliot.

made a daily want; these are gone, and the world offers nothing that can fill their place. One, who was present at the funeral, tells us that Mr. Eliot stood beside the coffin of her whom he had so long loved, and, while the tears flowed fast and full, said to the concourse of people around, "Here lies my dear, faithful, pious, prudent, prayerful wife; I shall go to her, but she shall not return to me." He turned away from her grave, and went to his house; but it was desolate, for the light of his home was gone.

CHAPTER XVII.

Eliot's Old Age and Death. — Concluding Remarks.

The closing scene of this excellent man's life was now drawing nigh. Time had been gradually doing its work upon him; the earthly tabernacle was near to dissolution; "the time-shadow" of this noble spirit was about to vanish. Mr. Eliot's rigid temperance, and the hard exercise to which his various duties had called him, had strengthened a constitution naturally firm, and given him almost uniform good health. He was one of those who wear well. His last days were not days of pain and disease, though the infirmities of long-protracted life gathered around him. The old age of the apostle Eliot was indeed an enviable one; calm, bright, and full of sustaining recollections. His task was done, and well done. "His witness was in heaven, and his record on high." Years had struck feebleness into his limbs; but his soul was strong; his spirit was ripe for the communion of the blessed; and the eye of faith ever looked upward. He had stood, during a long life, at the post of duty with sleepless vigilance; success

had never seduced him into sluggishness; disappointment had never driven him into despair. Not to one like him could be applied, in any sense, the lamentation over the close of an idle, useless life, so beautifully expressed by Sadi, the philosophical poet of Persia;

"Alas! for him who has gone and has done no good work;
The trumpet of march has sounded, and his load was not bound on." *

With a fidelity that never broke down, with an affection that was never wearied out, Eliot had gone forth among the wild men of the woods, year after year, in sunshine and in storm, under the burning rays of summer and in winter's sharpest cold, to proclaim to them "the unsearchable riches of Christ." He had been the first to break the ground, on which "the seed which is the word of God" was to be sown; and, in the devout confidence of faith, he believed the harvest would come. He had dealt kindly, truly, and earnestly with the barbarians; and they had listened to him, loved him, and in their homely way testified their gratitude, and received his instructions. He had left among them that noble gift, the fruit of many years' hard toil, the Bible in their own native words; and there it would remain, the silent but quickening teacher of God's truth,

* Malcolm's *History of Persia*, Vol. II. p. 538.

reminding them of him whose heart had felt, and whose hand had labored, for them, when that heart and that hand should be dust. He had laid open a whole new field, on which divine truth might work out its triumphs, and send forth its blessings.

Besides this, he had done the duty of a faithful minister at home; he had been the counsellor, the friend, the comforter of all; living words of instruction, of peace, of encouragement, of warning, had gone forth from his lips, and reached and quickened many souls. To the church in general he had, with ability and fidelity, rendered highly valued services by his writings and his personal influence; and he had stood among the guiding spirits of the country. When the feebleness of more than fourscore years had disabled him for active exertion, and his frame was bowed, and his steps slow, he was still beloved and revered; he was amidst a people who looked to him as to one already speaking to them from another world; they called him their father, and loved him as such; and their children hung around him "to share the good man's smile." Was it not a happy old age, the old age of the Christian scholar, the faithful missionary, the time-worn servant of God? How different from that old age, barren of cheering recollections or full of remorse, which may well be dreaded, and

which, it has been finely said, appears like the magical beings fearfully portrayed in Oriental fiction, who sit in clouds of darkness at the end of man's course, fixing upon their victims, as they approach, those keen, never-moving eyes, which by an indescribable but terrific power draw them towards their destiny in spite of all their efforts!

Mr. Eliot continued to preach as long as his strength lasted. His trembling voice was still heard, and his apostolic form seen, in the pulpit which had so long been his beloved place of duty. With slow and feeble steps he ascended the hill, on which his church was situated, and once observed to the person, on whose arm he leaned for support, "This is very much like the way to heaven; 't is up hill; the Lord by his grace fetch us up." At length his physical powers failed so much, that he was peculiarly reminded of his need of an assistant Since 1674 he had been without a colleague. He now requested his people to provide themselves with another minister, that, before he should die, he might have the satisfaction of seeing his successor established in office. When he made this request, he added, with his characteristic liberality, "'T is possible, you may think the burden of maintaining two ministers too heavy for you; but I deliver you from that fear; I do here give back my salary to the

Lord Jesus Christ; and now, brethren, you may fix that upon any man whom God shall make a pastor for you." His church were much affected by the old man's generous proposal. With a noble spirit, worthy of imitation, but not always imitated, they assured him, that, though he was disabled from rendering them the services they had so long received, yet they should account his beloved presence among them worth a salary.

On the 17th of October, 1688, the Reverend Nehemiah Walter was ordained as his colleague. Mr. Eliot received him with the kindness of a father, and was delighted to witness his usefulness, and the favor he found among the people of his charge. After this it was with difficulty that he could be persuaded to engage in any public service. The last time this venerable man preached was on the day of a public fast. He delivered a clear and edifying exposition of the eighty-third Psalm. At the close he begged his hearers to pardon his poor and broken thoughts, and added, "But my dear brother here will by and by mend it all."

This aged servant of Christ sat waiting, as it were, in the antechamber of death, quiet and full of hope. He used sometimes pleasantly to say, that he was afraid some of his old Christian friends, who had departed before him,

especially John Cotton of Boston and Richard Mather of Dorchester, would suspect him to have gone the wrong way, because he remained so long behind them. His full share of work seemed to have been done; but even now he could not consent to be idle. He looked around for some labor of benevolence and piety, such as the remnant of his powers might allow him to perform. The care of the ignorant and the neglected was still the ruling passion of his heart. He saw with grief the great want of concern for the moral welfare of the blacks. He proposed to many of the families within two or three miles of his house, that they should send their negro servants to him once a week, to be instructed in religion. In this humble, but truly benevolent work, he rejoiced to occupy some of his last hours; but death intervened before much could be accomplished.

Another labor of charity, which he undertook when he could no longer go out of doors, was the instruction of a boy, who in infancy had lost his sight by falling into the fire. To this blind boy the venerable man devoted much time and attention. He took him to his own house; and by the tedious process of verbal repetition made him acquainted with many portions of Scripture, so that the youth learned to repeat whole chapters, and would instantly

correct any mistake which he heard a person commit in reading. Mr. Eliot instructed him patiently in religion and other subjects; and the blind child heard the voice of love and truth from the aged man, till that voice was hushed in death.

Amidst the infirmities of his last days, Mr. Eliot never lost his interest in the welfare of New England. His heart was still upon the good of the church and the colony. He observed with distressing apprehensions the proceedings of the notorious Edward Randolph; and, when Increase Mather was about to depart for England as agent of the province, Eliot with a trembling hand wrote to him a few imperfect lines. This is supposed to have been the last time that he used his pen.

While death was fast approaching, his mental powers, though dimmed and broken, were still retained. He rejoiced in the thought, that he should soon carry to his friends in heaven good news of the prosperity of the New England churches. When some one inquired how he was, he replied, "Alas! I have lost every thing; my understanding leaves me; my memory fails me; my utterance fails me; but, I thank God, my charity holds out still; I find that rather grows than fails." One of his last remembrances lingered sadly among those, to whom he had given so much of his strength

and life. "There is a cloud," he said, "a dark cloud upon the work of the Gospel among the poor Indians. The Lord revive and prosper that work, and grant it may live when I am dead. It is a work, which I have been doing much and long about. But what was the word I spoke last? I recall that expression *my doings*. Alas, they have been poor and small doings, and I 'll be the man that shall throw the first stone at them all." When, a short time before his death, Mr. Walter came into his room, he said, "Brother, you are welcome to my very soul; but retire to your study, and pray that I may have leave to be gone." Mr. Eliot died on the 20th of May, 1690, aged eighty-six years. The last words on his lips were "WELCOME JOY!"

Such was the life and such the end of John Eliot. New England bewailed his death, as a great and general calamity. The churches, whose growth and prosperity had always been among the things which lay nearest to his heart, felt that they had lost a spiritual father, whose venerable presence had been to them a defence and glory. So deep was the sentiment of reverence for his character, that Mather observes, "We had a tradition among us, that the country could never perish as long as Eliot was alive." One, who for a long series of years had filled so large a space with eminent use-

fulness, on whom the confidence of the best men in church and state had reposed without wavering, and over whose name, age and great services had shed a saintly consecration, could not depart from those, with and for whom he had acted, without leaving a community in mourning. The Indian church at Natick wept the loss of their venerated instructer, as rough men in simplicity of heart would weep for one, who had loved them, who had prayed for them, and guided them to the things of their everlasting peace.*

A voice came across the waters, responding to the voice of New England. When Richard Baxter lay, as he supposed, dying in his bed, he received a copy of Cotton Mather's Life of Eliot.† He was able to read the book, and it revived him. He wrote a short letter to Increase Mather, then in London, dated August 3d, 1691, in which he said, "I knew much of Mr. Eliot's opinions by many letters I had from him. There was no man on earth, whom I honored above him. I am now dying, I hope, as he did." Baxter, whose hearty integrity of principle raised him above the weakness of flattery, and gave peculiar value to his com-

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* See APPENDIX, No. V.

† This was first published in a small book separately and afterwards incorporated into the MAGNALIA.

mendation, had expressed, in a letter written nearly twenty years before this time, his opinion of Mr. Eliot's labors; "There is no man on earth," said he, "whose work I think more honorable and comfortable, than yours. The industry of the Jesuits and friars, and their successes in Congo, Japan, China, &c., shame us all, save you." Of a man to whom such testimony was borne by the records of his own life, and by the attestations of the wise and good who knew him well, it may be said with simple truth, in the lines of one whose poetry has graced the literature of the age, as well as of his own country,

"His youth was innocent; his riper age,
Marked with some act of goodness, every day;
And watched by eyes that loved him, calm and sage,
Faded his late declining years away.
Cheerful he gave his being up, and went
To share the holy rest that waits a life well spent."

Of Eliot's personal appearance we have no information; nor is there, so far as I can learn, a portrait or *effigies* of him in existence.

In the course of this narrative all the writings of Mr. Eliot, which have come to my knowledge, have been described or mentioned. Some of these I have not seen, and presume they are not to be found in any public or private library among us. When we consider his high character as a preacher, it is remarkable

that he published no sermons.* Those of his compositions, which are in our hands, prove that he wrote with great simplicity and directness, with a heart full of his subject, and intent on reaching the hearts of others. It is evident that he had not studied much what is commonly called the art of writing well; yet he wrote well. His style is sometimes rugged and ungraceful, but frequently strong, nervous, peculiarly expressive, and always like the speech of a man who earnestly believes what he has to say, and therefore says it in a straightforward manner. Some of his best writing is found in his letters concerning the affairs of the Indians. In these his heart gushes forth in a mixture of warm zeal and gentle feeling, which sometimes has a beautiful effect. His general character as a writer, and probably as a preacher, so far as thought and style are concerned, may be fitly described in the language of Milton, who says, "True eloquence I find to be none but the serious and hearty love of truth, and that whose mind soever is fully possessed with a fervent desire to know good things, and with the dearest charity to infuse

* Mather gives us what I suppose to have been a part of one of Eliot's sermons on the passage, "Our conversation is in heaven," which he wrote down from the lips of the speaker. It presents a pleasing specimen of his style of preaching. — *Life of Eliot*, Part I. Article 1.

the knowledge of them into others, when such a man would speak, his words, by what I can express, like so many nimble and airy servitors, trip about him at command, and in well-ordered files, as he would wish, fall aptly into their own places." *

It is difficult now to ascertain what were Mr. Eliot's peculiar faults. He has been reproached, we are told, both with the want of constancy in his opinions and conduct, and with pertinacious obstinacy in maintaining his peculiar notions. These two characteristics, though not positively irreconcilable, could scarcely have existed together in a mind like his. From what we learn of his life, it is difficult to perceive the justice of the accusation. A man is not necessarily versatile or fickle because on one occasion he retracts an opinion, nor stubborn because on another he is not to be moved from strict adherence to his own views. His conduct, in the first instance, may be candor; in the other, it may be the firmness of principle.

Cotton Mather, pursuing a fancy of which he was very fond, tells us, that the anagram of Eliot's name was *Toile*. This conceit has at least the merit of expressing truly one of the most prominent traits in the character of the

* Apology for Smectymnuus, Section XII.

Apostle to the Indians. His life may be recorded among the most eminent examples of industry, which the world has furnished. How few, even of those who might be deemed diligent men, that would not have shrunk from the tasks, which he cheerfully undertook, and resolutely accomplished! He had none of that distrust or timidity, which springs from indolence. Acting on the conviction, that, for the most part, it is idleness alone which creates impossibilities, he felt, that hard work, performed in the spirit of faith and crowned with the blessing of God, will remove mountains. He seemed to consider incessant and strenuous labor as his inheritance; he loved it, and gave himself to it with unsparing perseverance. By day and by night, at home and abroad, in solitude and in society, he was ever at work, ever busy for truth, for his fellow-men, and for God. His course of moral service was marked by those excellences, which Cicero in his warm panegyric on Pompey ascribes to the commander in military service; * and if ever there was a man, who might justly be said to have died "rich in good works," that man was John Eliot.

Fervent piety and devotedness to duty were

* "Labor in negotio, fortitudo in periculis, industria in agendo, celeritas in conficiendo, consilium in providendo." — *Oratio pro Lege Manilia*, XI

the vital elements of Mr. Eliot's inward life His heart was given, as a holocaust, to the Father of his spirit; and because he loved God, he loved and labored for man till the last hour, till the grasp of death was on him. It would not be easy to find on the records of human virtue one, who more habitually felt, that in receiving the gift of life he had received a great mission to do good. All his duties belonged, in his estimate, to the family of religion; and his services to man were after the measure of his piety to God. That intrigue between truth and error, which so often constitutes the sophistical disguise of wrong, his simplicity of heart sternly discarded.

His remarkable humility may be considered as the consequence of the sense of God's presence by which his mind was overshadowed, and of the industrious consecration to labors of usefulness which made up the history of his days. He thought not of himself, because he was intent on his work. In one, who became a leader in a new moral movement, who was the first Protestant* that diffused Christianity

* So it is stated in 1 M. H. Coll., VIII. 11. The commencement of Mayhew's labors for the Indians is by some placed a year earlier than that of Eliot's. But from Mayhew's own account (3 M. H. Coll., IV. 109–118) it appears, that he did not preach to the Indians till 1646, the same year in which Eliot began his course. Before that

among the wild tribes of America, and who effected more than any other man in the Indian mission, we might be disposed to pardon some degree of egotism. But we have nothing of this sort to excuse in Mr. Eliot. I know not that in any of his writings, or in any account of his conversation, there can be found a solitary expression, that looks like self-seeking, or a sense of personal importance. His forgetfulness of self, while others were looking on him with admiration, reminds us of the quaint and significant remark of a Scotch divine, when commenting on the circumstance, that Moses's face shone as he came down from the mount; "It was a braw thing," he said, "for a man's face to shine, and him not to ken it." It was in accordance with the same disposition, that, though ardent in his efforts, Mr. Eliot was not enthusiastic in his statements of success. His character presented the unusual combination of warm zeal in labor with habitual fairness in estimating its results.

Never, perhaps, was there a missionary, whose reports contained less that could be

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time, Hiacoomes had by intercourse with the English become a convert to their religion; but there had been no systematic exertions on the part of Mayhew. Eliot and Mayhew may, therefore, be considered as having commenced the work of preaching to the natives about simultaneously.

called sanguine or fanciful. And whatever success he supposed to be achieved, he ascribed to Him, on the strength of whose support he felt his dependence. He would have no honor given to the instrument, but all to that Being, faith in whom was his soul's central principle. His gifts, his attainments, his life, he consecrated to the cause of holiness and to the work of duty. "I think," said Shepard, who knew him well, "that we can never love nor honor this man of God enough." The name of the Apostle to the Indians must always stand in distinguished brightness on that roll of the servants of the Most High, whom New England delights, and ever will delight, to honor in the records of her moral history.

APPENDIX.

No. I. p. 66.

Account of rare and valuable Tracts, in which are described the Labors of the Apostle Eliot in teaching Christianity to the Indians.

There are several old and very valuable tracts relating to the Indians, and especially to the attempts made by our ancestors to convert them to Christianity. These have come down to us from the earliest periods of New England history, and were written by men who lived in the midst of the best opportunities for personal observation or knowledge. As they are comparatively but little known among us, and may be regarded as the original and best authorities on these subjects, I have thought that the following list of them might not be unacceptable to the curious reader.

1. "*Good Newes from New England; or, A True Relation of Things very remarkable at the Plantation of Plimouth in New England; &c. Written by E. W.* [Edward Winslow], *who hath borne a Part in the forenamed Troubles, and there lived since their first Arrival; &c. London.* 1624." — This was reprinted among the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society (1st Series, VIII. 239–276, and 2d Series, IX. 74–104); but in a disjointed manner, as the whole original work was not to be found till it was furnished by the Ebeling Library, and the first republication was from the abridgment in Purchas's *Pilgrims.*

2. "*New England's First Fruits, in Respect, 1. of the Conversion of some, Conviction of divers, Preparation of sundry of the Indians. 2. Of the Progresse of Learning in the College at Cambridge in Massachusetts Bay, &c. London.* 1643." — This tract is anonymous, and I am not aware that the name of the writer can be ascertained A part of it (that which relates to the College) is reprinted in 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., I. 242 – 250.

3. "*The Day-Breaking, if not the Sun-Rising of the Gospel with the Indians in New England, &c. London.* 1647." — In this account we have the original narrative of the first visits to Nonantum. It was printed without the writer's name. In the reprint which appears in the Collections of the Mass. Hist. Soc. (3d Series, IV.), it is, in a note to the Advertisement to the Reader, ascribed to Mr. Eliot. But this is unquestionably a mistake. There are several circumstances in the narrative, which furnish strong presumptive evidence, that he could not have been the author of "*The Day-Breaking, &c.*" But the following sentence, which occurs towards the close of the tract, seems decisive of the question. "He that God hath raised up and enabled to preach unto them, is a man (you know) of a most sweet, humble, loving, gracious, and enlarged spirit, whom God hath blest, and surely will still delight in, and do good by." Now the person here spoken of could have been no other than Eliot; and he, of course did not write this concerning himself. Nor do I find, upon inquiry, any authority for the note, which assigns this tract to him. In the valuable account of Eliot, which the Reverend Mr. Young of Boston affixed to his "Sermon at the Ordination of the Reverend Mr. Thompson in Natick," he ascribes "*The Day-Breaking, &c.*," to the Reverend John Wilson of Boston. I am disposed to believe this statement to be correct, especially as it is confirmed, I am told, by the authority of the late Mr. Baldwin, librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, well-known for his accuracy in matters of this kind. Wilson was a friend of Mr. Eliot,

and very likely, from the interest he felt in his Indian labors, to have written the account in question. It seems singular, that Eliot's name is not once mentioned in the whole narrative. He is spoken of as "one of the company" who preached. It is not improbable that, with his characteristic modesty, he requested the writer not to mention his name.

4. "*The Cleare Sun-shine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians in New England; or, An Historicall Narration of God's wonderfull Workings, &c. By Mr. Thomas Shepard, Minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ at Cambridge in New England. London.* 1648." — This tract is preceded by a Dedication to the Parliament, and an Epistle to the Reader, each signed by Stephen Marshall and eleven other of the distinguished divines of that period in England. Besides Shepard's own narrative, it contains a letter from Mr. Eliot to him, giving an account of his work among the Indians up to that time.

5. "*The Glorious Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England, &c. Published by Edward Winslow. London.* 1649." — This is dedicated to the Parliament by Winslow. It commences with some introductory remarks from the same hand; and the rest of the book consists of four letters, one from Mayhew and three from Eliot, and an Appendix by "J. D." These initials are supposed by Mr. Rich in his Catalogue (Part I. p. 70) to designate John Dury, the famous pacificator of the Christian sects. They may, however, be the initials of John Do . nam, one of the divines who took an interest in the Indian cause.

6. "*The Light appearing more and more towards the perfect Day; or, A further Discovery of the present State of the Indians in New England, &c. Published by Henry Whitfeld. London.* 1651." — Mr. Whitfeld (or, as it is sometimes written, Whitfield) was the first minister of

Guilford in Connecticut. He returned to England in 1650 and there published this book. It is dedicated by him to the Parliament, and contains one letter from Mayhew, and five letters from Mr. Eliot.

7. "*Strength out of Weakness; or, a Glorious Manifestation of the further Progresse of the Gospel amongs the Indians in New England, &c. London.* 1652."—The first tract published by "The Corporation for promoting the Gospel among the Heathen in New England." It is dedicated to the Parliament by William Steele in the name of the Corporation, and has an "Address to the Reader" by a number of distinguished divines. It contains two letters from Mr. Eliot, one from the Reverend John Wilson, and one from Governor Endicot, each giving an account of the Natick settlement, and letters from Leveridge, Mayhew, and others.

8. "*Tears of Repentance; or, A further Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England; &c. Related by Mr. Eliot and Mr. Mayhew, two faithful Laborers in that Work of the Lord. London.* 1653."—A large tract published by the Corporation. A considerable effort was made to render it the means of attracting attention to the cause of religion among the Indians. It is preceded by an address to Cromwell from William Steele, president of the Corporation; by a letter to the Corporation from Mayhew, setting in a favorable light the nature and progress of the work at Martha's Vineyard; by an address to Cromwell from Eliot, and another to the reader from the same hand; and by remarks "to the Christian reader" from Richard Mather of Dorchester. It begins with Mr. Eliot's "*Brief Relation of the Proceedings of the Lord's Work among the Indians in reference unto their Church-Estate.*" Then follow, in somewhat minute detail, the *Confessions* of the Christian natives preparatory to their ecclesiastical organization.

9. "*A Late and Further Manifestation of the Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England. Declaring their constant Love and Zeal to the Truth, &c Being a Narrative of the Examinations of the Indians about their Knowledge in Religion, by the Elders of the Churches. Related by Mr. John Eliot. London.* 1655." — Published by the Corporation. There is an address to the reader by Joseph Caryl, a divine known by his elaborate commentary on Job. The tract consists of two parts; namely, "A Brief Narration of the Indians' Proceedings in respect of Church-Estate, and how the Case standeth at the present with us"; and "The Examination of the Indians at Roxbury, the 13th Day of the 4th Month, 1654."

10. "*Of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England; being a Relation of the Confessions made by several Indians, in order to their Admission into Church Fellowship. Sent over to the Corporation, &c. By Mr. John Eliot, one of the Laborers amongst them. London.* 1659." — This tract I have never seen. My only knowledge of it is derived from Mr. Rich's Catalogue, (Part I. p. 86.) Judging from its title, it may perhaps be another edition, or a repetition in another form, of what Eliot had before written on the same subject.

11. "*A Briefe Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel among the Indians in New England in the Year* 1670. *Given in by the Rev. Mr. John Eliot, Minister of the Gospel there, in a Letter by him directed to the Right Worshipful the Commissioners under his Majesty's Great Seal, for the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the poor blind Natives in those United Colonies. London.* 1671." — A small tract of eleven pages, which I have not been able to find. Its title is contained in Mr. Rich's Catalogue, (Part I. p. 96.) It was probably the first publication of the Corporation, after their charter was confirmed or renewed by Charles the Second. I presume it to be the same account,

of which Hutchinson makes so much use in his note concerning the Praying Indians, Vol. I. p. 156.

Seven of the above tracts, namely, those from the third to the ninth inclusive, have been republished together in the fourth volume of the third series of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The original copies were kindly furnished by the American Antiquarian Society, whose valuable library contains them bound in one volume. Neal used several of these narratives in composing his History of New England. From him and from the London *Missionary Register*, I believe, our writers had taken all that they knew of them, till the abovementioned reprint appeared. These very important tracts had become exceedingly scarce; and the Massachusetts Historical Society, by making them accessible to the public have added another to their many good services in the cause of American antiquities. Several of the originals are now in the library of Harvard College.

It may here be added, that Mr. Eliot published, in a small pamphlet of twelve pages, the "*Dying Speeches and Counsels of such Indians as dyed in the Lord.*" It is without date, and contains the acknowledgments, testimonies, and advice, which were uttered by some of the Christian natives, when they were about to leave the world.

No. II. p. 194.

The sale of spirituous liquors to the Indians was forbidden in Massachusetts, but the prohibition was evaded. "Though all strong drink," says Gookin, "is strictly prohibited to be sold to any Indian in the Massachusetts colony, upon the penalty of forty shillings a pint, yet some ill-disposed people, for filthy lucre's sake, do sell unto the Indians secretly, though the Indians will rarely discover these evil merchants; they do rather suffer whipping or

fine than tell." The same writer adds, — "This beastly sin of drunkenness could not be charged upon the Indians before the English and other Christian nations, as Dutch, French, and Spaniards, came to dwell in America; which nations, especially the English in New England, have cause to be greatly humbled before God, that they have been, and are, instrumental to cause these Indians to commit this great evil and beastly sin of drunkenness." (1 M. H. Coll., Vol. I. p. 151.) The testimony of Gookin on this point is confirmed by Heckewelder, who says, — "The Mexicans have their *Pulque* and other indigenous beverages of an inebriating nature; but the North American Indians, before their intercourse with us commenced, had absolutely nothing of the kind." (Historical Account, &c., ch. 36.)

Mr. Eliot's attention was early turned to this subject, as appears by the following petition presented by him to the Court, October 23d, 1648, a copy of which has been kindly furnished to me, from the Colony Records, by the Reverend Joseph B. Felt, to whose accurate and faithful researches into our early history the community is much indebted.

"As the Indians have frequent recourse to the English houses, and especially to Boston, where they too often see evil examples of excessive drinking in the English, who are too often disguised with that beastly sin of drunkenness; and themselves (many of them) greatly delight in strong liquors, not considering the strength and evil of them; and also too well knowing the liberty of the law, which prohibiteth above a half-pint of wine to a man, that therefore they may without offence to the laws have their half-pint; and, when they have had it in one place, they may go to another and have the like, till they be drunken; and sometimes find too much entertainment that way by such who keep no ordinary, only desire their trade, though it be with the hurt and perdition of their souls; — Therefore, my humble request unto this honored Court is this, that there may be but one ordinary in all Boston, who may have liberty to sell wine, strong drink, or strong

liquors unto the Indians; and that whoever shall further them in their vicious drinking for their own base ends, who keep no ordinary, may not be suffered in such a sin without due punishment; and that at what ordinary soever in any other town, as well as Boston, any Indian shall be found drunk, having had any considerable quantity of drink, there they should come under severe censure. These things I am bold to present unto you, for the preventing of those scandalous evils which greatly blemish and interrupt their entertainment of the Gospel, through the policy of Satan, who counterworketh Christ that way with not a little uncomfortable success. And thus, with my hearty desire of the gracious and blessed presence of God among you in all your weighty affairs, I humbly take leave, and rest

"Your servant to command in our Saviour Christ,

"JOHN ELIOT."

This petition produced the following order from the Court; — "On petition of Mr. Eliot, none in Boston to sell wine to the Indians, except Wm. Phillips, on fine of 20*s*."

A valuable account of the baneful effects of supplying the natives with spirituous liquors is given by Halkett, — *Historical Notes respecting the Indians of North America*, ch. 8 and 9.

No. III. p. 250.

IN his Grammar, Eliot says, on the subject of the *declensions*, "The variation of nouns is not by *male* and *female*, as in other learned languages, and in European nations they do." He adds, "There be two forms or declensions of nouns, *animate*, when the thing signified is a living crea

ture, and *inanimate*, when the thing signified is not a living creature." (Grammar, pp. 8 – 10.) But the most remarkable peculiarity of the Indian languages is the alleged absence of the substantive verb *to be*. "We have," says Eliot, "no *complete distinct word* for the *verb substantive*, as other learned languages and our English tongue have; but it is under a *regular composition*, where *many words* are made verb substantive." (Grammar, p. 15.) Mr Leveridge made a similar remark, and Mr. Duponceau observes, "It is one of the most striking traits in the Indian languages, that they are entirely deficient of our auxiliary verbs *to have* and *to be*. There are no words that I know in any American idioms to express abstractedly the ideas signified by these two verbs." (Report, &c. in Transactions of the Historical and Literary Committee, &c., p. xl.) On this remark, Judge Davis suggested some doubts in a letter to Mr. Duponceau. (See the whole discussion in 2 Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. IX., Notes on Eliot's Grammar, pp. xxiv. – xliv.) If the above statement with respect to the Indian dialects be correct, there is an exception to the universality of Adam Smith's remark, who says, "There is *in every language* a verb, known by the name of the substantive verb; in Latin *sum*, in English *I am*. This verb denotes not the existence of any particular event, but existence in general. It is, upon this account, the most abstract and metaphysical of all verbs; and, consequently, could by no means be a word of early invention." (Considerations on the Formation of Languages; Works. Vol. I. p. 426.) But the able writer in the "North American Review," to whom I have before had occasion to refer, dissents from the abovementioned opinion with regard to the absence of the verb *to be* from the dialects of our native tribes. "We have shown," says he, "the manner in which assertions are made in the Indian languages; and such expressions as *horse mine*, *rifle good*, *I hungry*, are continually recurring. This anomaly could not but excite the attention of those, who were investigating these modes of speech, and no doubt led to the

conclusion too hastily adopted, that the substantive verb was unknown to them. So far as this verb may be employed to denote simple existence, we believe it is found in all the aboriginal dialects." (Vol. XXVI. p. 391.) But this position is controverted with much strength of argument in the "United States Literary Gazette," Vol. IV. p. 365.

No. IV. p. 325.

TWENTY-FOUR years after the death of Mr. Eliot, the name of one of his grandchildren occurs in a petition respecting a tract of land, which he had received or purchased of the Indians. The case will be explained by the following extracts, which I have transcribed from the Colony Records in the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

"In Council, June 22d, 1714. The following order passed in the House of Representatives; read and concurred; viz.

"In answer to the petition of John Eliot praying a confirmation of a tract of one thousand acres of land at a place called the Allom Ponds, lying in the wilderness west of Brookfield, given by the Indian proprietors to his grandfather, the Reverend John Eliot, late of Roxbury, Clerk, deceased; Ordered, that the tract of one thousand acres of land given by the Indian proprietors to the late Reverend John Eliot, as by their grant thereof presented with this petition is described, be confirmed to such of the descendants of the said donee as are legally entitled to the same, provided it do not interfere with any prior grant; and they may improve John Chandler, Esquire, to survey and lay it out, and return a plat thereof to this Court for further confirmation.

"Consented to. J. DUDLEY."

The survey was accordingly made, and a plat returned to the Court, which is among the papers in the Secretary's office. It contains a map and a minute description of the land, certified by John Chandler. It is termed, "The survey of a thousand acres of land purchased by the Reverend John Eliot, late of Roxbury, deceased, Clerk, of Wattalloowekin and Nakan, the 27th of September, 1655, and confirmed and allowed by the General Assembly," &c. The survey was made August 26th, 1715. On the back of the paper containing the survey is the following order;

"In the House of Representatives, December 5th, 1715. Ordered, that the plat on the other side be accepted, and the land therein described be confirmed to the descendants of the late Reverend John Eliot, deceased, pursuant to the vote of this Court passed for that end at their session in June, anno 1714

"JOHN BURRILL, Speaker.

"Sent up for concurrence.

"In Council, December 5th, 1715. Read and concurred

"SAM'L WOODWARD, Sec'y."

It will be observed that there is a discrepancy in the above extracts with respect to the manner, in which this land is said to have come into Mr. Eliot's possession. In the first Order, it is described as *given* to him by the Indian proprietors; in the Survey, it is spoken of as *purchased* by him of Wattalloowekin and Nakan. The terms of the description in the Order were probably taken from the grandson's petition; those in the Survey were, it may be supposed, the terms used by the surveyor to designate the land. The latter would be more likely, from inadvertency, to commit a mistake in this matter, than the former; and it may, therefore, be deemed more probable that the land was a gift, than a purchase.

No. V. p. 336.

A TESTIMONY, fifteen years after the death of Mr. Eliot, to the veneration in which his name and authority were held by the Indians, and also to the good effects of the diffusion of Christianity among them, is found in a scarce tract entitled, "A Letter about the Present State of Christianity among the Christianized Indians of New England. Written to the Honorable Sir William Ashurst, Governor of the Corporation for Propagating the Gospel," &c. Boston. 1705. This letter is signed by Increase Mather, Cotton Mather, and Nehemiah Walter. They write as follows;

"But we have now before us a letter very lately received from as knowing and as faithful a person, as could be inquired of, wherein he speaks a little more particularly. He says, 'The administration of sacraments among them [the Indians] is like ours, and as they were taught by their apostle Eliot. His name is of wonderful authority among them; and the rules he gave them for the form of marriages, and for admonitions and excommunications in their churches, are not to be found fault with by any, but it will provoke them. Not long since an Indian lodged at an Englishman's house one night; and the next day he visited me and asked, *why the man at whose house he lodged did not pray in his family.* Seeing that Mr. Eliot taught the Indians to do it every day, morning and evening, he thought it strange that the English should direct them to pray in their families, and yet not do it themselves. But at last he entertained the distinction, that there were *matchet* Englishmen, as well as *matchet* Indians, and that some English did not practise as they had been taught to do. [*Matchet*, that is to say, naughty or wicked].'

"'To your last inquiry, What I think there may be of piety among them. Sir, I think that there were many of the old generation, who were instructed by the reverend

Eliot and others, which died in the Lord, and the first fruits of them are in heaven as an earnest of more to follow. I think the censorious English among us are not to be the rule for our charity about them. Yet let me say, I could never yet inquire of any plantation or assembly of Indians, but the most censorious English would grant, there were three or four persons in that plantation, who, they verily believed, were sound Christians, though they condemned the rest. Whereas, a charitable man would have reckoned these three or four to have been the most eminent for piety among them, and have granted the rest to have such a measure of knowledge in the Gospel method of salvation, and to be so ready to submit with most admirable patience to the church censures among them, and so penitent in their confessions of their faults, and fearful afterwards of relapsing into the same or like faults, as might be a just foundation to hope that they are travelling the right way to heaven.'" — pp. 9 - 11.

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